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25 March 1985

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ALGERIA

INCREASE IN 'CONSTRUCTIVE' FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION NOTED IN PRESS

Paris POLITIQUE AUJOURD'HUI in French Nov-Dec 84 pp 84-96

[Article by Belkacem Mostefaoui, assistant lecturer at Tizi-Ouzou University, now visiting lecturer at the University of Economics and Social Sciences in Paris: "Constructive 'Freedom of Expression' in Algeria"]

[Text] "The government cannot define, with the aid of laws, that which one does not have the right to say. Consequently, censorship must function in a close semi-obscurity and it grows nervous, especially if it is called by its name. If citizens fear it, censorship is sure of itself. If they regain their courage, censorship begins to grow afraid. In this case, the number of those who speak of it, describe, study, violate it and laugh about it also grows." Gyorgy Konrad, "L'Ecrivain Etatisé" (The Nationalized Writer) in "Lettre Internationale," No 2, Autumn 84, Paris, Rome.

How can one not seize the timeliness of that preamble, conceived following the drafting of the study in order to publish, while still "hot," a few brief observations of the political opening being attempted by the government in power on the occasion of the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the 1 November 1954 revolution?

The rehabilitation of and amnesty for many revolutionary figures (some of whom are resolutely against the single-party system) are the distinctive signs of the climate of tolerance that seems to be emerging. In addition, the observer may also note that articles in the national press are marked by a certain critical tone. For example, in a series of articles entitled "Algeria of Challenges" and signed by N. Boukrouh (pseudonym that conceals the identity of a high official), the reader of the weekly ALGERIE ACTUALITE could read, in October, an implacable condemnation of the bureaucracy and corruption raging in the machinery of government and of the numerous evils afflicting Algerian society. The author emphasizes that one of the challenges to be faced is "first of all that of abandoning the old myths of rhetoric, which implies a rigorous initiation into the language of truth, especially in the economic and political areas."\*

What is remarkable in this type of discourse -- although it may appear explosive at first glance -- is that it is cynically delivered for the purpose of dissipating the smoke. Furthermore, it is never the deliberate, free and conscious act of information professionals themselves. It receives the imprimatur of the head of the publication because it is from an "authorized source." Furthermore, making the most of the "old myths of rhetoric," one considers the phenomenon

outside of any organic (and living) relationship with the principles governing the use of the media, principles that give birth and consistence to that rhetoric.

With humor and some freedom of tone, one journalist was able, echoing the article quoted, display his skepticism in another issue of the newspaper and in these terms:

"They also speak of 'rhetoric' without saying who practices it or causes it to be practiced (our emphasis), but it is still rhetoric. The best support for that rhetoric remains the media, so let us debate the media in the media (...). Today, there is unanimity in condemning that rhetoric, but is that not still rhetoric? Actually, it is much more complex and one can nearly lose one's tongue, let us hope the one that mouths rhetoric."\*\*

Humor and freedom of tone: These are two rare characteristics in the messages of Algerian newsmen. In conclusion, it is important to emphasize to what extent the phenomenon of self-censorship is pushed in practicing the profession. If orientation guides and the management methods of press enterprises are effectively conceived in such a way as to create unanimism and reproduce the discourse of leaders through that of the journalists, the fact nevertheless remains that as actors, nothing forces them to abide by the rules of play in such a reliable way and on a natural, daily basis.

Characterized by a remarkable legal and doctrinal vacuum since the country's independence, the Algerian press was in 1982 endowed, first with an Information Code (law of 6 February) and second, with a resolution of ideological principles passed by the seventh session of the Central Committee of the single party, the National Liberation Front (19 June).

With these two documents and the subsequent holding of the Third Congress of the Algerian Journalists Union (UJA) in November of that same year, the government's strategy in this domain had thus been outlined and the monolithic orientation to be given to media practices was emphasized.

Taking up principles already in effect (press enterprises belong to the government or the party, the "right to information" is freely exercised within the framework of the country's ideological options, the nation's moral values and the orientations of the country's political leadership, and so on), these documents, despite the few new ideas advanced, brought only changes in continuity, as we shall see.

It is definitely simpler and more comfortable for Third World nations to demand a "new international order of information" than to draft a national policy on the matter respecting the citizens' fundamental rights.

This information policy must not come -- contrary to what the authoritarian regimes in the Third World would have us believe -- after the establishment of the new world order of information. Rather, it is the sine qua non condition for its gradual coming.

The right to information granted to citizens by the June 1976 National Constitution -- the basic ideological document of the existing regime -- has, six years

after its promulgation, remained a dead letter. Confronted with a civil society demanding more and more in terms of freedom, the government has not hesitated to include this theoretical principle in the basis of its information policy. The political and social context, the practical modalities of the document's drafting (public debate of an exceptionally critical tone) incited leaders to take over certain demands of the citizens, at least with respect to their discourse, resulting in a serious credibility crisis.

"It is certain that the completion of the major national tasks and collective participation in development and the rise of Algerian society require that all citizens be well-informed, enlightened and motivated by all means at our disposal, with no exception." (Section III, p 71)

"...the right to information of a people which, with every passing day, provides irrefutable proof of its maturity and civic spirit will be affirmed." (Section III, p 71) While the principle is well established (in a formulation that borders on redundancy), there is no sign in the body of the document that attests to the desire of its promoters to lay the essential conditions making it possible to achieve its fulfillment, to wit: the guarantees which journalists must enjoy in order to freely exercise their craft and objectively inform the citizens (right to access to sources of information and guarantees against government pressure) and on a more extensive use of the people's languages, particularly on radio and television. Irregardless of these conditions, the essential thing here is to sanction a principle recognized by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, while being careful not to advance any idea that might permit fulfillment of that right. Furthermore, the document solidly locks up all paths leading to the free expression of opinions. It grants the state -- and secondarily to the party -- exclusive ownership of the information media.

"If...the socialization of means of production is one of the preliminary conditions for the establishment of socialism, it is equally true that the socialization of the means of production and the diffusion of culture is also one of the preliminary conditions for the cultural revolution." (Section III, p 69)

#### Very Simple Rhetoric

The rhetoric of those who drafted the text is very simple: Since material ownership of the means of information is in the hands of the state and the party, there is ipso facto socialization of the means of production. The reasoning naturally spares any reflection on the nature of the management of these press enterprises.<sup>2</sup> The abridgment made here will again be found -- in reference to the National Constitution -- in the resolution on information of the Fourth Congress of the FLN, as we shall see below.

With this essential principle of exclusive appropriation by the state and the party of all information media (written and audiovisual), any possibility of founding a publication, starting a radio station or television network is excluded, whether by individuals, associations, corporations, and so on. The material base of the monopoly will, in the final analysis and definitively, determine the unanimism of messages of the media, but other parameters will also be specifically involved.

The drafters of the National Constitution at the same time outline a framework governing the notion of freedom of expression. The latter appears five times in diverse formulations, two of which are as follows:

"Socialism must create adequate mechanisms making it possible...to ensure rigorous respect for fundamental human rights, particularly...freedom of expression provided (that it is not) used to make an attempt on the revolution." (Section I, p 34) The same idea is found in Section II with an addition: "The exercise of these rights is fixed by law." (p 55)

The newness of this principle in 1976 was in keeping with the hopes it created among media professionals and the public. Its fulfillment in day-to-day living meant that the mediocrity of the Algerian press, its propaganda and its silence on many contradictions of a rapidly growing society would give way to journalistic production concerned for the public and essentially motivated by a greater determination (and the related power) to always try to tell the truth.

#### Principle of Unanimism

Until the Fourth Congress of the National Liberation Front (January 1979), no text of any importance was devoted by the government to the orientation of the mass media. The pragmatic policy (to be fairer, one should speak of practices) on information followed up to that point was based on the orientations and decisions of officials of the sector, often outside of party organs, for all information organs coming under the government. However, while that policy was drafted outside the FLN, it had above all to espouse the overall logic of the political system based on the single party.

"Specific" socialism as generally postulated must tend to conceal the existence of social classes, just as the messages of the media must present the nation as united and development without any major contradictions. In these messages, attention is occasionally paid to "parasites," feudal exploiters, but the rule is to avoid placing these individual cases in the logic of the silent but intense class struggle being experienced by the country.

The ideological horizon of the media consists of creating an imaginary collective which, to take up an idea of A. Mattelart, "will give the individual the illusion that the society in which he evolves and the concrete relations he experiences come under the sign of social harmony and escape the class struggle."<sup>1</sup> Whence the frequent use of a typical information procedure: "bulletin journalism" that avoids any debate over ideas.

Let us examine how the National Constitution and the resolution on information of the Fourth Congress of the FLN lay the first foundations of a doctrinal basis of the principle of unanimism, proclaiming at the same time -- paradoxically enough -- recognition of the citizens' right to information.

The Constitution stipulates in three distinct passages that "the socialist state guarantees all citizens the right to total and objective information on all national and international problems." (Section II, p 55)

Three years following the adoption of the National Constitution, the Fourth Congress of the FLN Party outlined new paths for this principle of unanimism. If the basis of the existing orientations was not challenged, this policy was dressed in new forms, theoretically at least.

After stating in the first ideological and political formulation that "information is a strategic sector," the resolution defines it as an "instrument of ideological and political formation, one of education and motivation."

The drafters of the document speak out for unified orientation by the party of the concept of the information policy. The principle of the party's preeminence will thus be stated in the first and second recommendations:

"The congress recommends that the Central Committee reorganize means of information in order to ensure their cohesion, complementary nature and effectiveness in serving the revolution" and that it "entrust responsibility for key political posts regarding information media and their organs to party cadres."

But where the text distinguishes itself from the constitution is when, in a condensed and specific formulation, the drafters state certain means of achieving the right:

"This implies complete, bold and objective information, the diversification of information media, making them available to all classes and all regions of the country."

It is relevant that the text associates the right to quality of information (objectivity) with the right to material access to the media in a country in which purchasing power of the lower classes is poor and the infrastructure still little developed. And yet, its discretion with respect to the language of expression of the media can only be perceived as non-recognition of the need for greater use of the people's vernacular, a usage of vital usefulness when one realizes that most of the adult population is illiterate and that for it, only information transmitted in dialectal Arabic and Berber can be understood.

The scant use of dialectal Arabic and the total exclusion of Berber from television result in the exclusion of potential viewers. Already excluded from access to the written press, will this public be forced for a long time to try at all costs to understand only through images the broadcasts or films in classic Arabic and/or French?

#### 1982: Codified Strategy

Pragmatism gives way to a codified in 1982. The way is now clearly laid out, at least theoretically, by three major events within the year: promulgation of the information code in the JOURNAL OFFICIEL of 6 February, the holding of a session of the Central Committee of the single party devoted to information (and youth) and the calling of the Third Congress of the Algerian Journalists Union (UJA, the professional organization under the tutelage of the FLN).

This commotion in the adoption of texts, in addition to the haste involved, is not without grave inconsistencies resulting in confusion in the enunciation



(and application) of orientations. The most serious inconsistency resides in the duality marking the information code and ideological program of the FLN from the very beginning. While simple logic -- within the context of the single party -- dictated that the program should be drafted and promulgated before legislative text comprised of the information code, the reverse was so.

Even more serious is undeniably the scant interest granted by the government in the need to conceive a strategy in the field responding to the needs of the population. A major fact illustrates this well. In his opening speech at the June session, the chief of state devoted only three or four lines to the problems of information and the rest to two foreign policy affairs (the Western Sahara and the war in Lebanon).<sup>3</sup> What was the use of conceiving an overall report on the information policy? A simple and evasive resolution would suffice.

But how did the Algerian press cover this event, which was theoretically of the greatest interest to it?

Outside of reports drafted by every medium containing journalists' amendments on the preliminary party text and transmitted to the information committee of the Central Committee, before the session, no article of viewpoint of any journalist was published, except for brief reports on the various meetings of the ad hoc committee in charge of the information dossier and those of the party's rank-and-file structures.

The most conspicuous point is that the national press reported it -- if one can put it that way -- without feeling involved in the stakes in question.<sup>4</sup>

It is perhaps not without interest to describe here -- succinctly and by way of illustration how the rank-and-file discussion on the information matter was conducted at the level of the Mouhafadha (Commission) of Tizi-Ouzou, in which the author of this study was specially invited to participate in the work of the committee drafting amendments.

Some 18 members were initially to serve on the committee. All members of the party (with a single exception), they were appointed because they had posts in the Mouhafadha or as deputies (half of them). Only one was a professional journalist.

Only nine members appeared at the five working meetings. The task given to the committee was initially to propose amendments to the text of the preliminary report, then, following a reading of the 38 reports of the *kasmate* (cells), to summarize and record grievances of the rank and file.

While the theoretical task of the commission was to reflect on the draft and rewrite it if needed, the majority of the members' speeches were limited to corrections of grammar, syntax and spelling in the text, which, it is true, contained many mistakes, and to adding certain purely practical ideas.

## False Party-State Dualism

A reading of the kasmate reports gave rise to other questions. What one had were grievances expressed in a simple, direct style. Over half of them are in French (while only one version of the preliminary report was published in Arabic).<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to claim that in these kasmate, rank-and-file members read the text of the preliminary report in Arabic.

Three main ideas run through the reports: the need to extend the use of the vernacular to radio and television, to develop the technical broadcasting infrastructure throughout the regions of the country and the demand for an objective press.

A general assembly made up of the commission, the Mouhafadha bureau and kasmate secretaries was to approve the amended report of the Mouhafadha by a vote of hands. It was unanimously approved.

It is remarkable that, with respect to such an important matter, no member of the Mouhafadha formulated any remark whatsoever.

As for the proposed information code put together in the corridors of government and ministries, without the main parties concerned -- newsmen and the public -- being involved in the drafting of the bill, it is logical that it would then be more an expression of the will of those in power than the demands of public opinion.

The monopoly which the law gives to the state and the party in owning all audio-visual media and nearly all written publications<sup>6</sup> is an intangible foundation for the principle of unanimism. With unified leadership (by the FLN) proclaimed, the only current of opinion free to express itself can only be that of the FLN or one related to it. Article 5 of the code precisely states:

"The orientation of publications of general information, the press agency, radio and television and the filmed press exclusively belongs to the political leadership" (our emphasis).

Maintaining the state press-party press dualism with respect to the tutelage and operation of the media has only theoretical value. The party is not yet able to conceive and control the country's information policy. The Ministry of Information has better experience in the matter and more competent personnel. It is no accident if radio and television are the exclusive monopoly of the state (Article 29). This explains why the text, in an attempt to lump the two organs together, speaks of the political leadership.

The principle of the right to information granted to citizens is matched by four conditions. They are all handicaps to its fulfillment, so many interpretations each may have. In substance, Article 3 provides that:

"The right to information is exercised freely within the framework of the country's ideological options, the nation's moral values and the orientations of the country's political leadership stemming from the National Constitution, contingent upon the provisions of the constitution, particularly Articles 55 and 73."

These general conditions will be backed and consolidated by others relating to the status of the information professional and the possibility of access to sources of information. The field of action of the journalist is first of all circumscribed by his responsibilities (to the state and the revolution, as previously explained) and his duties, more political than deontological.

Two articles contribute to this end:

"(The journalist) exercises his profession in a responsible and committed fashion in order to achieve the objectives of the revolution" (Article 35); and "in the option of militant action serving the options sanctioned by the basic constitutional documents of the country" (Article 42).

Concerning access to the sources of information, Order No 68,525 of 9 September 1968 the status of professional journalists stated that:

"The government grants the journalist, in the exercise of his profession and in terms of their possibilities, the support and facilities that might make his task easier" (Article 7).

In comparison, Article 46 of the information code is undeniably more liberal because it requires that economic, social and cultural institutions, enterprises, collectives and so on provide the journalist with all information.

But Article 47 gives four cases in which this information can be refused. The three classic cases of refusal of information to the newsman ("strategic military or economic secrecy, information that might divert or hinder an investigation or procedure already underway, information that might violate the dignity and constitutional rights of the citizen") are preceded here by a case in which multiple interpretation makes the provision confusing, as follows:

"Information may be refused to professional journalists when it might violate domestic or external security of the state."

While it is relatively easy to define an attempt on external security of the state in any precise way, it is, on the other hand, difficult to try to define accurately what an attempt on the 'domestic security of a state' is. The state, the only judge in this case, can at will determine when a given piece of information falls within that category.

The phase of the gathering of information is not the only level on which the lawmaker leaves a broad field of action to the intervention of the government's appreciation. The publication phase is also marked out with solid guard railings.

Even when the Algerian journalist succeeds in gaining access to a document or to information whose reporting may be a scoop, garnering the interest and esteem of the public, Article 101's dangerously obscure formulation may well deter him from making his message public.

The article in question states as follows:

"Whosoever publishes or deliberately disseminates erroneous or biased information that might constitute an attempt on state security, its laws or its options, will be punished by imprisonment from 6 months to 3 years and a fine of 500 to 20,000 dinars or one of the two."

#### Presse Mailbox

A commentary in the weekly ALGERIE ACTUALITE signed by one of its best journalists, A. Djaad, whose relative freedom of tone and talent are remarkable among his colleagues, publicly supplied the best commentary on the eve of the seventh session of the Central Committee. The quality of the paper, its exceptional nature, require that one quote it at length:

"Without its being truly in a dilemma or totally at a crossroads, this press, which some consider as the Fourth Estate, has proceeded by successive shifts until it has at times been nothing more than a functional mailbox or a neutral relay of that expression because, it is said, of real or imaginary waves of the baton dealt or threatened by an authority little inclined toward a fruitful or hermetic criticism of any substantive debate.

"...It is often with a sickening feeling in the pit of one's stomach and some not very noble sentiments that one walks the halls of the newsroom when a major event that has occurred somewhere in our own country is commented on at length by the foreign media and shaped by public rumor, without our having written one single column in our own newspapers."<sup>7</sup>

But one swallow does not make a spring and this commentary is lost in a mass of reports, commentaries and editorials vacillating between smug satisfaction over the event and the empty formulas of the communique.

#### Status Quo

Since there is a wide margin between certain principles and provisions of the guidelines and their application in the media from day to day, it is highly important to see in what way the daily reality of the media, while bearing the seal of the monolithic nature of the texts, exhibit no sign of change.

In other words, the inertia contained in the guidelines in order to counter any democratic evolution is found concretely and in a living fashion in the conditions and working relations in the enterprises of the written and audiovisual press.

For decisionmakers in the information machinery, it is a matter of handling the status quo. This relation between the texts and reality is found in a succinct examination of a cardinal moment in the organization of information professionals: the holding of the Third Congress of the Algerian Journalists Union in November 1982. It will essentially be a matter of seeing how the sole organization of newsmen espouses and consolidates the ideological mold set forth by the two texts previously studied.

Unlike the Second Congress of the UJA held in February 1974, the organization of the congress of November 1982 was totally taken over by the party.

It was impossible to find in it the relative critical tonality that reigned in the debates and resolutions at that time. It was therefore possible to adopt and make public a general policy resolution which, while revealing the substance of debates initiated during the work of the congress, bears witness to the remoteness of such work from the real concerns of the profession. The subtitle approved by the central organ of the FLN for the complete text of the resolution illustrates the gap: "General Policy Resolution: For a New International Order of Information." The content of the resolution is mainly aimed at defending Algeria's positions on the major international conflicts and one would search in vain for one point reflecting an opinion or position of newsmen on the realities of the national press. The drafters of the text were naturally careful to include a few vague considerations. For example:

"The congress asks all newsmen to commit themselves in action to applying the resolution on the information policy given the fact that information is a strategic sector that requires more interest, organization and guidance and that must be backed by competent, honest, militant cadres of integrity in the ranks of the FLN Party."<sup>8</sup>

And yet, on the eve of these meetings, newsmen had expressed some hope of change. One reporter for ALGERIE ACTUALITE wrote:

"The days of 16, 17 and 18 November 1982 will be for journalists, whatever the results, a great time of clarification on the subject of their role and place in our society. They have not done so for over 10 years. And if they have not done so en masse, it was not out of resignation, but because the natural framework for democratic concertation, the UJA, shone by its absence from the political scene."<sup>9</sup>

#### Corporative Withdrawal of the UJA

The public formulation of this criticism on the absence of the UJA from the political scene is not explosive, strictly speaking. It is as if, in official discourse, it were only the leadership team of the Union that failed in its prerogatives and responsibilities. Consequently, there is never any criticism of the Union as a structure or of its organic position vis-a-vis the party. This enables delegates to the congress to go so far as to arrive at a unanimous view on the negative record of the retiring officials. The central party organ reports this without evasion:

"The unanimity of the journalists came about in the debate on the moral report presented by the retiring Executive Secretariat. The document was not passed, with delegates deeming for the most part that it did not reflect the professional or social realities of Algerian journalists."<sup>10</sup>

The November 1982 congress was also the time for the Union to adopt its statutes, whose provisions logically reflect the main guidelines of the information policy examined previously. We shall therefore not go into it, but it seems timely to cite the most important ones.

In the first article, the UJA constitution clearly states that the Union "exercises its activities under the aegis of the FLN." Article 5 states respect for this path, noting that:

"The Union's mission on the political, ideological and cultural level is to make an effective contribution to the application of the national information policy drawn up by the Central Committee" (our emphasis). One will note that as a matter of fundamental principles, the Union's sole task will be to apply the guidelines drafted elsewhere.

It is interesting to make a succinct summary of the activity of the new UJA team emerging from the Third Congress. Not only was the professional union not associated with the drafting of the guidelines before the Third Congress, but it did not intervene in their application either, to the best of our knowledge. While Article 6 of the constitution states that the UJA's mission (on the socioprofessional level) is to "enable journalists, within the framework of their mission, to gain access to sources of information," one would have difficulty finding a statement in which the Union warns against the sacrosanct principle of storing information circulating in leadership circles.

UJA action can basically be summed up as a corporatist strategy, solely concentrating on defending the material interests of the profession, meaning -- placing oneself within the context of the practices and mores often reigning in the country's trade union spheres -- a constant search for material interests (housing, cars, trips abroad, and so on) for Union officials.

The only achievement of the UJA since the Third Congress is the establishment of the Press Club. Moreover, the Union constantly proclaims that this periodic press conference, organized with a national official, is a great innovation enabling newsmen to have better access to sources of information. If the technique of the press conference in journalism is actually an effective means making it possible, in a democratic system, to challenge and probe those in power concerning their public action, which also makes it possible to gather information and new opinions, the case is different in the Algerian context where -- this is a significant fact that deserves to be brought out -- the chief of state has never delved into the practice of questions and answers with the national press. The UJA Press Club is far from breaking down the walls. Basically, the press conferences appear to be a ritual in which the guest is respectfully asked a few questions with many answers. It frequently resembles a press declaration or bulletin.

The report on the press conference provided by the official of the Central Committee enables a reporter for ALGERIE ACTUALITE to observe the impossibility, within such a framework, of rousing a real debate of opinion, whatever the proclamations of principle.

The party Central Committee official opened the session by telling newsmen that: "I ask you...to demonstrate all the frankness possible. Ask whatever questions you wish. Here, within the confines of the party, you can seek answers to the problems and situations that concern you without any exclusion."

If one is to judge by the conclusion of the author of the "paper," the invitation received no response because there was not, is not and could not be any shadow of a debate. No subject roused the intervention of several persons or gave rise to a variety of opinions. It was an information meeting under the aegis of the party."<sup>11</sup>

## Foreign Information

In governing the Journalists Union in the ideological mold outlined by the orientation texts, the government gives the final touch to the edifice. Thus, no real evolution or change can come from the demands of the corporation because the Union is not supposed to rouse or express them publicly. At the same time, outside of this official union, Algerian newsmen have no framework of concertation or action to defend their rights.

The main thread of the government's strategy can essentially be summed up as defending the principle that at present, the information policy is clearly defined<sup>12</sup> and that in particular, the legislative vacuum that once existed in that domain has now been filled. Second, on the practical level, this strategy is aimed at better defending and managing the status quo of the information apparatus in place. The status quo is the material impossibility of informing objectively and of thus responding to the principle of the right to information granted to citizens by the National Constitution. The status quo is maintaining the structure of the information apparatus and its mode of operation.

And yet, reality offers the appearance of change.

Actually, there are changes in form that should be detected and analyzed in order better to evaluate their range. They emerge from two categories: those inducted by new appointments made in the leadership of organs and those attracted by the technological evolution of media in the world, whence greater access to news, ideas and images from elsewhere, to the benefit of Algerians.

These two factors naturally overlap. It is for the most part more and more in order to relieve the consequences deemed definitively harmful of foreign information that officials of the information apparatus are trying to promote the infusion of new blood into national information organs, thereby improving their fabric and the external aspects of their presentation.

Let us examine this closely, beginning with attempts at change on the inside. Successive changes with respect to men and formulas of presentation are but diverse signs of the political continuity governing the information apparatus. The essence of this policy, unchanged since 1962, since the institution of the single party, is the prohibition of plural expression of public opinion. The ban on any diversity of opinion (vis-a-vis that of the party in power) will logically bring about the promotion to posts of responsibility in the media of persons capable of better channeling the expression of newsmen in keeping with the official orientation. The episodic new formulas accompanying changes in leadership at the media level are at best only journalistic exercises in style, enabling individuals (sometimes honest, competent and with good intentions, such as Z. Benamadi, publisher of ALGERIE ACTUALITE from September 1978), to note that it is impossible to honestly practice the profession of journalist within the framework of the existing ideological mold.

## New Wind?

The new and innovative wind that Z. Benamadi has brought to ALGERIE ACTUALITE, in cooperation with Editor-in-Chief H. Abdebou (a more critical tone, subject

matter generally considered taboo, the opening of newspaper columns to university professors, a search for solid ties with the readers, and so on) would be crowned by his ouster in 1981 and his replacement by K. Belkacem, who had demonstrated his talent as authoritarian chief and censor on the daily EL MOUDJAHID, as editor-in-chief.

It is interesting to note here, given the fact that we are trying to make a connection between the texts and reality, that during the period of the adoption (during the Fourth Congress of the FLN, in January 1979) of an exceptionally innovative resolution in perspective, the reality of the media declined in quality, as shown by the hobbles placed on ALGERIE ACTUALITE.<sup>13</sup>

But one must shade this conclusion when one considers the arrival at the head of the main Algerian daily (EL MOUDJAHID, in French) of a new publisher (Morsly) and a new editor-in-chief (B. Rezzoug), who did not fail to display their ambition of rapidly improving the quality of the publication. The combination of the militant vision of the former (former officer in the National Liberation Army) and the journalistic competence of the latter, gave rise to enthusiasm among the staff and the hope of finally being able to give a new face to their publication.

In the succeeding issues, there would be formal signs of change and even, at times, an unusual critical tone (as we pointed out in the editorial devoted to the information code). But it would not take long to regain control of the publication. The first step was in April 1982, with the removal of the editor, followed soon by the departure of the publisher of the newspaper, who thereby had the courage to sign the first resignation of an enterprise official in the history of the Algerian press. This resignation following the session of the Central Committee of the FLN devoted to information, in addition to the fact that it honored its author, bears witness to the existence of objective limits set by the government on any trade of a real change on the inside.

Whatever the case, the experiences of Z. Benamadi and Morsly, who seemed promising at the time -- why not say so? -- inherently contained their own limits, those imposed by respect (even if, in this instance, fairly intelligent and bold) for the sacrosanct principle of "constructive freedom of expression." By taking this tack, whose guide is none other than the government and the government alone, any criticism aimed at an act, program or decision deemed untimely or harmful may be perceived as an attempt on the revolution and put down as such.

On another level, the Ministry of Information has since 1981 tried to set up an emergency program for the technical equipping of the media: a broadcast satellite to cover the vast national territory, new means of publishing newspapers, and so on.

In their speeches, the leaders present the acquisition of these modern technical means as "the" solution to press problems.

This highly technical vision will be manifested, for example, in these remarks reported by an EL MOUDJAHID reporter at a study day bringing the minister of information together with media officials:



"Very important measures were announced during the day thanks to the acquisition of new and powerful means of communications by Algeria.... The information sector is therefore called upon to experience a takeoff during the course of 1983" (our emphasis).<sup>14</sup>

There undeniably exist real technical problems, particularly in the written press. The material aspect of publications, particularly with respect to dailies, is often chancy. The EL MOUDJAHID printing presses date from the beginning of the century (the daily went to offset in November 1983). The only movie review, the monthly LES DEUX ECRANS, suffers delays of two, three or even four months between publications, but limiting press problems to this, concealing the main one of the political conditions of the mission of providing information, distorts the approach to the question.

Actually, by way of comparison, if the central organ of the FLN, REVOLUTION AFRICAINE, has for a long time had offset and color, the fact nevertheless remains that the substance of its content remains mediocre.

The emphasis placed on technical equipment of the media, which since 1982 has received heavy investments (out of which the proposal to launch a second television network carves a considerably share), is not fortuitous. The essential goal is, in the government's logic, to constitute a means of countering the penetration of foreign information conveyed by radio and television. Actually, while the foreign written press is relatively easy to censure, depending on the will of the governments (LE MONDE, which one cannot claim has an anti-Algerian bias and whose sales total some 30,000 copies a day, is periodically banned from sale in the country), the foreign radio and television networks already confront authorities with serious problems.

Thus, when Radio Mediterranee Internationale (Medi, Arabic-French, 34-percent financed by French SOFIRAD [Radiobroadcasting Finance Company]) went on the air in November 1982, set up in Tangiers and openly intending to "cover" Algeria, it did not take long to bring about a reaction within Algerian radio, whose Station III, international but largely heard by Algerians, immediately took the air time from 0900 to 1200 hours in mid December, a space previously not covered at all. Despite this response, Medi 1 did not fail to carve out a solid audience in Algeria, with the competition providing it with the benefit of a more intelligent and attractive presentation of broadcasts.

It is obvious that Medi 1 therefore has the intention of placing its own seal on information broadcast in a geopolitical area in which tensions are lively: the conflict in the Western Sahara, relations of dependency vis-a-vis France, divergency of political options of the existing regimes, and so on.

Since the credibility of the national media is minimal, the Algerian public which Medi 1 has won over thus enjoy more credit in information handled elsewhere and in another way.

Much more important in the long run, problems linked to the effects of the broad coverage of the Algerian public by television direct broadcast satellites (particularly the French-German SAT, whose launching is planned for 1985) have not failed to rouse rather uniform reactions in the Algerian press, whose

dominant principle -- actually, initially that of the state -- is that such programs, from abroad and therefore marked by cultural imperialism, can only tend to violate national sovereignty!

#### Kabyle Language Ruled Out

It is not without interest to note the hostile reaction of certain officials in the Ministry of Information and university professors such as L. Maherzi who, labeled as "very familiar with new communications techniques" by ALGERIE ACTUALITE, do not hesitate to write:

"We shall no longer be the masters and those responsible for controlling the images and sounds received by our citizens. We shall be forced to let things happen. This is a troubling and disconcerting possibility" (our emphasis).

The problem of the different types of intervention mainly has to do with the following question: How later to divert programs carried by direct broadcast satellites from the Algerian public?

The principle of the right to information granted to citizens by existing laws is thus threatened. The critics and other authors of such actions therefore deliberately take the side of the state -- and curiously enough, identify with the "masters" -- rather than that of the citizens. It would have been timely for the ink that flowed to go on and on about the need for the coming of the new international order of information be used to debate the means of putting an end to the bureaucratic programming of national television which -- in a contradiction always found in these discourses -- imposes on the public cheap American and Egyptian films and trivial programs.

Even before the time of direct broadcasting, one can already note that on the eastern border of the country, Algerian audiences prefer to listen to Channel 2 of Tunisian television, launched on 12 June 1983, with broad French participation. People on the coast prefer to spend hours and hours setting their dials and antennas in order to get feeble reception of Italian, French and Spanish networks and follow programs in languages they do not always even know!

With (and accompanying) the gradual penetration of foreign radio and television programs, another more latent -- and probably more powerful -- factor brings into question the bases of the status quo imposed on the information apparatus. Here it is a matter of the beginning of the citizens' awareness of demanding respect for the principle of the right to information.

Outside of the party in power and its organizations (which obliterate it), there is no organic structure empowered to express this demand publicly. Nor is there any structure able to appreciate respect for this claim in actual fact. Indeed, no recourse is possible, even in the case of libel or defamation committed in the press. Let us illustrate this by concrete facts.

In March 1980 (before promulgation of the information code, it is true, but the penal code in effect at that time punishes crimes of slander and defamation), Algerian writer and university professor Mouloud Mammeri was seriously slandered

by K. Belkacem, then editor-in-chief of the daily EL MOUDJAHID. At the beginning of the article framed and entitled "Givers of Lessons" -- and courageously signed only with the initials KB -- the writer was forbidden to give a lecture dealing with Algerian poetry written in Berber, at Tizi-Ouzou University. The ban roused, first of all only on the campus, then in the city and entire region, demonstrations against the authorities whose extent seriously endangered the central government. This article, published at the beginning of what was later called the "Kabylia spring," was for the purpose of discrediting a personality whose intellectual work is penetrated by the concern for rehabilitating the Algerian people's cultures; presenting him as a traitor to his nation during the war of national liberation and therefore, now an agent of imperialism that would destroy the national unity.

The editor-in-chief of the daily accused Mammeri of having, in 1954 in the columns of the pro-colonialist newspaper L'ECHO D'ALGER, called the veterans of the Liberation Army "jackals of the Aures." Trying to repair the harm done to his person, the reaction of the writer was to draft a letter of correction which he proposed for publication in EL MOUDJAHID and to the minister of information, but in vain. Without any other possibility of appeal, the letter was published later and beyond the Mediterranean by the French daily LE MATIN (of 11 April 1980). It is not without interest to quote a number of passages, so fine a lesson in journalism is the document. The exceptional nature of the document will excuse the length of the quotes we give from it:

"Regarding the allegations concerning me personally, I construe the charitable hypothesis that your good faith was taken by surprise and that that which would elsewhere be called lies and defamation (and therefore be within the jurisdiction of the courts) was but an error of information on your part. It goes without saying that I have never written in L'ECHO D'ALGER.... Nevertheless, I would be happy if this incident would serve as an opportunity for you to learn a final lesson on the way in which you conceive of your craft.... The first function and indeed the first duty of a newspaper of information such as yours is naturally to inform. Objectively, if possible, and in all good conscience, your first duty was therefore, when you learned of these events (the first demonstrations) and not ten days later, to send one of your reporters to learn first hand what had exactly happened in order later to recount it in your columns. Second, a journalist worthy of the name...considers that intellectual honesty does exist.... I am speaking of the truth concerning the facts, for with respect to the truth in ideas, one needs a solid dose of smugness to claim that one has it. But obviously, such scruples do not bind you. With superb assurance and with extreme confusion, you legislate; even better, you give lessons. You tell the will, which you yourself call unanimous, of the Algerian people, as if that people had expressly delegated you to communicate its profound thoughts and express them. Algerian culture has 'come out of its ghettos, inhibitions and taboos,' in your words, but your article is striking proof that unfortunately, it is buried up to the eyeballs."

But how many readers of EL MOUDJAHID were able to read this reply to the libelous remarks of the editor-in-chief of the publication?

## Public Surrenders

Very few signs bear witness to any movement on the part of civil society in the direction of demanding application of the principle of the right to information. Except for the Berber cultural movement, which expressly included in its demands the right of the citizens to be objectively informed about the movement, no structure or movement has seriously taken up this aspiration. And yet, it would be unjust to omit the tenacious struggle waged in 1981 by the Women's Association of the University of Algiers for better information on the proposed family code being debated in the National Assembly.

Basically, one is witnessing an almost general surrender on the part of the citizenry. This surrender may be manifested in the form of the growing attraction of televised programs, particularly those of escape and which for the most part are imported from the United States, Egypt or Lebanon. Since society offers little entertainment (movie theaters difficult to frequent because of their promiscuity, scant theater and rarely any good, bookstores with meager offerings because they are subjected to the bureaucratic supply, and so on), the television screen has a very compensatory appeal. Programmers seem mainly guided by the concern for satisfying the public's desire for escape. It is remarkable to note the connection between this programming and the expectations expressed in mail from viewers. National television has never made any survey of its public's wants, but reading the mail is not without interest. Two articles are devoted to it by ALGERIE ACTUALITE and one learns in particular that the authors of the letters are nearly all little concerned by the cultural or informative aspects of the media.

Let one be the judge: Out of the 2,000 letters received by the station during the first quarter of 1983, "no reflection has to do with information."<sup>15</sup> Actually and speaking more broadly, as another journalist writes in that same issue, "there is a total absence of reference to scientific documentaries, national cinema, substantive broadcasts or the quality of information."<sup>15</sup> In the absence of any opinion poll, one may logically think that the viewers who wrote the letters probably represent only part of the potential public. The tastes and expectations of the public that writes are already shaped by the type of programming that exists. It is significant -- here is a sign of surrender -- that the other public prefers such total silence. Whatever the case, the abundance of American series that will not fail to be shown on the Algerian screen in the near future thanks to direct broadcasting satellites will tend to divert the most loyal customers from the national station.

And yet, high party and government officials do not take care not to say that the government is not satisfied with the quality of the national press.

Cherif Messaadia, head of the Central Committee of the FLN, said to a group of newsmen: "We political leaders are not satisfied with the current state of the national press."

The chairman of the party's information and cultural commission, A. Mehri, also makes an observation which, while espousing that rhetoric, is intended to be more profound, making a connection between the condition of the media and those of the social and political context.

Speaking at the seminar on the Algerian experience in the field of information, a seminar organized by the UJA in May 1983, A. Mehri asked the audience: "Why was information effective during the liberation war and much less so today?" His response is edifying:

"It is because the revolution had a profound vision of the role and place of the press, far from populism and demagoguery. It was an honest press anchored in reality and therefore credible. Characterized by independence, it was also integrated into the revolution and not added or outside of it. Our press was credible because it expressed with objectivity the reality of the people and the revolution"<sup>17</sup> (our emphasis). The words underlined enable one to suggest the characteristics of information now disseminated by the national media. Such remarks -- remarkably lucid -- show how difficult it is for the government to reconcile the imperative of managing the status quo imposed on the information apparatus and that of setting off a dynamic that will make the information and broadcasts of national organs credible and attractive.

The new requirements of Algerian civil society with respect to information, the increasingly broad and multifaceted penetration of foreign media in the country, will make that status quo more uncertain and inoperative with every passing day.

#### Precarious Status Quo

The scant reflections we have expressed in this study on the orientations and realities of the Algerian media converge on one main thread: Moved by the concern for ensuring unanimism, "constructive freedom of expression," the driving principle of their operation, inexorably tends to reduce their quality and credibility with the citizens.

Three conclusions may be derived:

The promulgation of the 1982 guidelines has more to do with a concern for filling a legislative and doctrinal vacuum -- which is unjustifiable -- meaning establishing restrictions, than with setting forth new, clear orientations aimed at ensuring a better operation of the system and responding to the principle of the right to information.

There is an insurmountable contradiction between the principle of the right to information granted to citizens by the basic texts and the conditions and limitations, whether political and regulatory, set for the freedom of providing information. These conditions and limits cancel the right.

Attempts made within this framework to improve the formal aspects of the press constitute no real change.

Presuming maintenance of the status quo imposed on the information apparatus and on the basis of these conclusions, there are three prospects:

The indifference of the citizens vis-a-vis the national media will grow, as will the amount of credibility invested in their informative products.

Along with this indifference, the tendency to consume the products of the foreign media (particularly audiovisual) will develop, especially since modern broadcasting techniques will make any remnant of censorship outdated. The Algerian, a great lover of electronic gadgets, is inclined toward the purchase of new apparatuses. Video tape recorders (nonexistent in the official circuit of distribution) are sold on the black market in Algiers for 26,000 dinars, while a cassette costs 500 dinars.

Attempts to create a parallel press (enjoying somewhat tolerated illegal structures) will flourish. In the wake of self-published collections of poetry and journals, cultural and political reviews and brochures, following the example of the Tizi-Ouzou University, will be launched, despite countless handicaps and contingencies. Of poor technical quality and appearing only irregularly (because of their scant means), shortlived, these publications will be the only ones to propose free reflection on conditions in the country to their public.

Furthermore, technical progress in radiobroadcasting mean light and relatively inexpensive transmitter equipment, so that it is not impossible that later, groups of reflection, dissent and opposition -- seeking to make up for the vicissitudes of propaganda through the written press -- may turn to that medium, with an impact all the greater because the barriers imposed by the written languages (Arabic and French), mastered by only part of the public, will crumble before the use of the vernacular (the Arabic of the people and Tamazight), previously little used by the official media.

Jamming of the air waves will not necessarily silence these voices.

#### Alternative

If high officials have, as we previously pointed out with the remarks of A. Mehri, observed the failure of the current system of information, the chief of state, in his report to the Fifth Congress of the FLN on 19 December has just publicly expressed a truth heavy with significance. Let the reader judge:

"It is not suitable that 20 years after the achievement of independence," he says, "there should still be citizens who cannot find an appropriate framework of expression for their opinions and ideas."

After those 20 years of independence and with the real achievements registered in the economic and social fields, thanks to the socialist orientations, the alternative at present is to plan for or repress the political opening that public opinion is calling for. Between increased bureaucratization of the system of information -- which would exacerbate (with the inherent risks of anarchy) the three tendencies outlined in the prospects -- and a resolute and serene democratization in order to ensure the inevitable political pluralism of the future capable of organizing within a democratic framework of expression all tendencies and sensitivities, the government in power faces a historic responsibility, on which to a great extent the increasing support of the people for the edification of socialism amidst freedom depends.

#### FOOTNOTES

- \* N. Boukrouh in ALGERIE ACTUALITES, No 990 of 4-16 October 1984.
- \*\* Abdou B. in ALGERIE ACTUALITES, No 992 of 18-24 October 1984.
- 1. A. Mattelart: "Mass Media, Ideologies and Revolutionary Movement," Chile, 1970-1973, ANTHROPOS, 1973, p 35.
- 2. The fact that the charter of the socialist management of enterprises has had no impact on press enterprises some 10 years after promulgation of the text is probably not any accident.
- 3. See EL MOUDJAHID, 18-19 June 1982.
- 4. This reminds one of the total silence of journalists observed at the time of the debate on the preliminary draft of the National Constitution in May 1976.
- 5. And yet, the original document may have been drafted in French. The many errors in the Arabic copy could also be explained by a poor translation.
- 6. Nearly all written publications, we say, inasmuch as the information code, in Article 14, states that: "Universities, training institutes, centers of research, professional unions, socialist enterprises and duly authorized public service associations may put out publications directly dealing with their field" (our emphasis). The approval of the Ministry of Information, requested 90 days before publication of the first issue, must precede publication and is stipulated in Article 15.
- 7. A. Djaad: "Credibility" in ALGERIE ACTUALITE, No 870, 17-23 June 1982.
- 8. In REVOLUTION AFRICAINE, No 979 of 26 November-2 December 1982.
- 9. ALGERIE ACTUALITE, No 891 of 11-17 November 1982.
- 10. In REVOLUTION AFRICAINE, No 979.
- 11. D. Bensaad in ALGERIE ACTUALITE, No 814 of 21-27 April 1983.
- 12. And yet, this is not the constant position of authorities because the head of the FLN Central Committee told newsmen: "Information is still under examination. The file is still on the desk of the proper authorities." In ALGERIE ACTUALITE, No 814.
- 13. How can one remain silent about the passiveness of journalists of the publication, most of whom support the working methods of retiring officials and well-informed about those of the new publisher? The question alone supplies enough material for another study.
- 14. In EL MOUDJAHID of 5-6 November 1982.

15. M. Berrah and M. Balhi in ALGERIE ACTUALITE, No 938 of 6-12 October 1983.
16. Reported by D. Bensaad: "The FLN Party and the Press," in ALGERIE ACTUALITE, No 814.
17. In EL MOUDJAHID, 20-21 May 1983.

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CSO: 4519/104



ALGERIA

BRIEFS

NEW CREDITS FOR ALGERIA--Algiers, 28 Feb (TAP)--A cooperation agreement between the Beit Etamwil Saoudi-Tounsi (BEST) [Saudi-Tunisian Finance House] and the Algerian Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development was signed in Algiers yesterday. According to the agreement BEST will grant Algeria credits to the value of \$300 million. The credit is aimed at promoting Algerian exports which could benefit from a specific prefinancing in the context of developing trade with all Arab, Muslim and African countries. It will also finance Algerian imports at very advantageous conditions. [Summary] [Tunis TAP in French 1300 GMT 28 Feb 85 ID]

CSO: 4500/59

EGYPT

# INTERIOR MINISTER DISCUSSES SECURITY FUNCTIONS

Ciara AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic 18 Jan 85 pp 10-12

[Interview with Maj Gen Ahmad Rushdi, minister of interior, by Mamduh Mihran in Cairo: "We Are Studying New Measures to Eliminate Doubts About Elections"; date not specified]

[Text] In his interview with AL-MUSAWWAR, interior minister Maj Gen Ahmad Rushdi disclosed for the first time the political side of his job as minister of the interior, the side that had not been as clear as the security aspect of his job. The interior minister said he did not want to talk about this subject, preferring to let his practices provide the answer because he likes to work in silence. He talked about the acts of torture saying: "None of us accepts or sanctions torture and anyone who has made a mistake must face the consequences." He said that since he assumed the office of the interior minister, a number of cases have been apprehended, all set by the prosecution without extracting one single confession under torture or duress. He also said: "We are seeking to build confidence between the people and the police agencies, for this will facilitate the work of the security agencies." He talked about security's stand on the opposition, saying: "I call upon all parties to do their share in reviewing the new voter registration lists and to express their opinion on these lists instead of demanding their amendment without studying them." He said that, as minister of the interior, he is responsible for guaranteeing freedom for all the people of Egypt, as prescribed by the constitution, because democracy is the framework approved by the legitimacy of the regime in Egypt, and the opposition is a part of this legitimacy, and therefore we must not be intolerant of the other opinion. He also said that he did not differentiate between one party and another or between the deputies of the National Party and those of the opposition parties and challenged anyone who claims that he discriminates between one Egyptian and another. He said: "I am not a hunter of mistakes. My job is to enlighten and guide in order to prevent any action that violates the law. However, anyone who works in the dark or forms underground groups should know that the eyes of the police are always open and their hand will reach further because Egypt's stability is above all else."

[Question] Up until now, the political side of your job as interior minister has not been made clear to the people. Can you tell us how you perceive your political job.

[Answer] I believe that the work of the interior minister in all the countries of the world is primarily a security function. Politics, however does impose itself on this specialized job, keeping in mind that security has a role in some political aspects or those related to political practice. In other words, security is confined to two spheres: the battle against crime and the preservation of the political movement's balance against any disorder it may be subjected to, whether the source of the crime is internal or external.

#### Crime of Torture

[Question] Torture is a crime committed some time ago against the Egyptian people whom the security agencies are supposed to defend and protect. This crime is once again the subject of ugly talk. Is there any truth to what has been said in this regard?

[Answer] None of us accept or sanction torture because what I accept for others I must accept for myself, so does anyone of us want to be insulted or humiliated? Anyhow, I do not want to dwell on this subject because it is under investigation by the general prosecutor's office. In other words, the entire subject is in the hands of the courts for judgment. If any person has done something wrong, he should be made to pay.

[Question] When will these investigations end?

[Answer] As far as I know, the prosecutor's office is hard at work to get the job done quickly. It is the competent authority right now and it is in no one's interest now to announce the outcome of the investigations.

[Question] So the question of torture is in the courts now, but people are always concerned about the future.

[Answer] Everyone can rest assured that the police will deal with everyone with dignity and not abuse anyone, regardless of how trivial the matter may be. My instructions are clear to all the agencies that they must respect the people's humanity.

#### Interrogation and Torture

[Question] We are talking about a specific issue, torture.

[Answer] Let me back my words by evidence. Since I took over the Ministry of the Interior 5 months ago, a number of cases have been uncovered. These cases were completely codified by the general prosecution with proof and sufficient presumptions and all the other various legal evidentiary methods. Security measures were presented to the State Security Prosecution on a daily basis for review, declaration of legality and approval to proceed with the arrest. Hence, we do not have to take any arbitrary measures against anyone. We have to provide evidence via surveillance, watch and searches and an exhaustive examination of all the elements of the crime. We have to

furnish the State Security Prosecution with reliable documented evidence against anyone charged with violating the law. This alone is sufficient for indictment, but confession alone is not enough to establish guilt. A murderer may plead innocent before the judge while factual evidence points to his guilt, so will the judge find him innocent because he pleaded innocent despite the evidence?

[Question] But confession is the supreme proof; therefore, some may want to extract it from the defendant by any means instead of bothering to look for the evidence.

[Answer] Nowadays, police work in the fields of investigations and interrogations and establishment of the facts is done scientifically. We do not seek to oppress, we only want to arrive at the truth, which is our ultimate objective. This no longer requires the old, obsolete ways that resorted to torture to get confessions. There is an art called the art of interrogation and the art of investigation and there are modern methods for gathering information as well as methods to attain all the necessary evidence. Therefore, we do not need this ghastly tactic.

[Question] Aren't these methods bound to improve police treatment of citizens at the precincts?

[Answer] The treatment has completely changed. Today, we are seeking to mingle with the people whom we are supposed to serve in everything we do. We seek to establish confidence between the people and the police agencies, a task that can only be achieved through honest, straightforward and unequivocal work. Once such confidence is assured, security work will become easy and harmony between the police and the people will grow.

[Question] But this is not the case in all locations?

[Answer] What I have elaborated on does not imply the absence of individual mistakes in some precincts when people deal with the police. Therefore, I promptly adopt appropriate measures to put the goals into practice. Hence, I am bent on eliminating these shadows and touching up what spoils the picture so that every citizen will feel that the police station is a safe home for the people.

[Question] These details have distracted us from Maj Gen Ahmad Rushdi's vision of the opposition parties' allegations about the honesty of the elections. Is it not time to adopt measures that would put a stop to any uproar concerning this subject?

[Answer] We are presently studying this subject from all angles. Our primary concern is to attain voter registration lists that reflect the actual voters, all the actual voters, not just part of them. In other words, these lists must include all Egyptians of legal age and must exclude all names that should be discarded. That is why I am calling upon all parties, the opposition parties particularly, to do their share in reviewing these lists

or contesting them if they feel they are justified to do so. Such an action is ultimately in the public interest as it bolsters the democratic practice which we are all eager to preserve. We are now living through a phase of contestation of these lists and I ask the opposition, with all its parties, to make a tangible effort to review them, and if it has anything to say about names of dead people or names omitted from the lists or which must be added to the lists, we are ready, and indeed will be thankful to it for undertaking such a national duty instead of confining itself to merely demanding their amendment. If the opposition is lax in this, it must bear some of the responsibility.

[Question] Will they have a chance to review these lists?

[Answer] The lists are available to all those who would like to contest them. They can go to the competent employee and ask to see them. They can examine them and demand additions or deletions. There is also an examining committee looking into all these matters. I believe the opposition put together agrees on this point in particular and I think, with all its parties, it is not in want of a member in each village or housing project or police precinct to take on this task.

[Question] What if they are not able?

[Answer] There is nothing to stop them and no one has an ax to grind in this. Anyhow, my office is open to them to try to settle any complaint from any party in this regard.

[Question] Their complaint does not stop at the amendment of the voter registration lists, but extends to the voting process itself.

[Answer] Our study comprises this aspect as well to include a total guarantee for every citizen to exercise his freedom as much as possible in the voting process so that it will not be said that the elections were rigged in favor of this or that person.

[Question] How can this be done?

[Answer] Through study to arrive at the method that would render any electoral process beyond suspicion, be it on a limited level or a national level that includes the entire country.

[Question] How do you outline the interior minister's relationship to the opposition parties?

[Answer] The interior minister is a member of the government and, whereas this government belongs to the majority party, it nonetheless does not work for the benefit of one party to the exclusion of others. It works for the benefit of all Egyptians, regardless of their political affiliations. Therefore, as interior minister, I am responsible for realizing security for all the people of Egypt as well as for guaranteeing their freedom, as prescribed by the constitution and the law.

[Question] How do you view excesses that may occur?

[Answer] Democracy is the framework approved by the regime's legitimacy in Egypt and opposition is part of this legitimacy. Therefore, we cannot be intolerant of the other opinion, no matter what it is, regardless of some excesses that at times go beyond the proper bounds and, at other times, overstep the facts. That is why I am hoping that wisdom, logic and objectivity will prevail over all our practices and that writers will be honest in what they write, particularly since their writings are ready by the highly-enlightened Egyptians, and therefore, distortion of facts or effacement of accomplishment does no good and can only cause them to lose rather than gain followers.

[Question] What, in your view, should objective practices be?

[Answer] We must promote the truth and criticize what needs correction. As far as I or the agency I head is concerned, I welcome all objective criticism. There are some who brought up subjects that included criticism of some aspect of the interior ministry's practices. I looked into the matter and found the criticism warranted, so I rectified it and thanked the one who brought it to our attention.

[Question] Can you give any examples?

[Answer] There are many examples, but this is not the place to enumerate them. However, someone wrote a criticism of State Security Investigations [GDSSI], so I called to thank him for his objective criticism and to express my hope that our attention would be drawn to any negative aspects of police work. He promised to report anything he came across, so I said: Sorry, I do not want you to report it to me, but I hope you will bring it up in your newspaper so the public may know the facts so long as it is constructive criticism. No man or agency is infallible and constructive criticism is the true sound approach for rectification and development in all the various fields.

Equality For All

[Question] But in your own dealings, do you treat all parties equally?

[Answer] I do not discriminate between one party or another or between the National Party's deputy or the deputy of an opposition party, not do I discriminate between a majority leader and an opposition leader. The legal services within the boundaries of my jurisdiction are freely offered to everyone because services are ultimately meant for the Egyptian citizen whom I am supposed to help whenever necessary. For example, an opposition deputy came to my office seeking a service for a citizen. Although this request came at the wrong time, I complied with it because it was legitimate. And before he left my office, I presented him with a copy of his party's newspaper that had just come out with an unwarranted attack on me. But this deputy belonged to a legal party recognized by the state. Therefore, it is our duty to encourage these parties because we need the other opinion. All we ask is that it be objective.

[Question] Does that invalidate the whispered allegations that the interior ministry classifies citizens, one to the right and one to the left?

[Answer] I challenge anyone who alleges that I discriminate between one Egyptian and another. Furthermore, just as no one has the right to doubt the faith of another, so no one has the right to doubt the patriotism of any citizen.

[Question] Do you respond to opposition demands in the same way you respond to the majority party demands?

[Answer] The opposition deputies know more than any one else whether they receive equal treatment or not. I do not hesitate to fulfill any lawful demand from either side, but I do turn down unlawful demands by either side, regardless of their sources.

#### Exceptions at the Police Academy

[Question] Can you give an example of a demand you refused?

[Answer] There are many examples. The one that stands out, however, is one that subjected me to pressures I had never experienced. I stuck to my guns, however, and, in the end, everyone came around because I did not discriminate between one person or another. It was the first time in the history of the police academy, ever since it was called the police school, that I decided not to accept any student or group of students that did not meet the minimum requirements for admission, in keeping with the principle of equal opportunity for the people of Egypt.

[Question] But not all who get the minimum average, although they passed all the tests, were accepted. Many who got high averages did not have a chance, despite the facts that others who scored lower were accepted.

[Answer] I said that all those who were accepted met all the requirements. I did not say averages. All those who scored above the declared minimum and passed the necessary tests had to go through a selection process because the academy has no room for all of them. This selection process was conducted in accordance with objective selection guidelines aimed at choosing the most qualified for police work. I chose this example in particular to show that there are some basic national matters we can all rally around and for which such a decision can be made. Regardless of the difficulties that we may encounter at first, so long as there is no discrimination between one thing and another, or between one citizen and another, everyone cannot but support such a decision.

#### No Intercession

[Question] Is this stand expressed in all other police agencies?

[Answer] I say in "bold letters," as a principle, I have no place for intercession. All the people of Egypt are equals. I am on the side of those who are right and support them until they get what is due them, and not on the side of the influential, regardless of who they are.

[Question] There are those who disagree with you, Your Excellency. Do you treat them the same?

[Answer] Every person has those who laud and those who detract. Therefore, I can put up with criticism. I welcome constructive criticism, as I have already said. As for criticism aimed at libel, I read and hear it just as I do any other ordinary thing because I have to satisfy my conscience, not anyone else. The final word is not for the critics, but for the multitude of people who evaluate the performance of every official.

#### Fundamental Tendencies

[Question] Your Excellency, some fundamentalist tendencies have resumed their activities.

[Answer] Religion is for God, the country is for all and worship has its own rites and traditions. We do not object to or interfere in any religious matters related to man's relation with his God. However, anyone who goes beyond the law will be dealt with decisively. Yes, there are movements, but I am not a hunter of mistakes. Rather, we enlighten and guide against any illegal action. Thus, I say all movements are very carefully watched, no matter the position of the person being surveilled. We will strike and liquidate any suspicious movement at the proper time. We live in a democracy and have legal channels and constitutional institutions. Anyone with an opinion should come forth with it, but the police are watching all those who are working in the dark or planning to form groups or organizations--and they will get them--because Egypt's stability is above all else.

#### Evaluation of The Discipline Experiment

[Question] How do you evaluate the discipline experiment with which you initiated your duties as interior minister?

[Answer] Discipline in police work is not an experiment, it is a policy. It is not limited to putting the Egyptian street in order or attempting to ease the flow of traffic by observing the law, particularly at a time when projects to modernize public utilities have made things worse.

[Question] But traffic has not eased totally?

[Answer] Traffic cannot be eased totally until overhead bridges and the streets under construction are completed and digging in the main street is halted. Our intention was to realize the degree of flow we have lacked due to the failure to enforce the traffic improvements and modernization measures. We just could not wait.



[Question] Are the citizens expecting results from this discipline that would make it easier for them to deal with service agencies?

[Answer] Yes, we are developing these agencies with a view to serving the public without any hardship on the part of the people because I put myself in the shoes of the citizens seeking the service and asked myself what the best ways to obtain it is. In light of the reply to this question, I issue my instructions to the competent authorities on how to behave.

What About Prisons?

[Question] You have some institutions, Your Excellency, that can be turned into more effective production units, such as the prisons authority. Are there plans to develop their work?

[Answer] Yes, there are projects, plans and studies, but I will not announce them before they are implemented and start showing results.

[Question] A propos, some are proposing putting the prisons under the Ministry of Justice. What do you think?

[Answer] They are in fact under the supervision of the justice ministry. The prosecution can go to inspect them any time it pleases.

Fighting International Terrorism

[Question] One last subject, Your Excellency. Terrorism has turned into an international crime, so what measures have you taken to coordinate with other countries in combatting it?

[Answer] We are working with patient scrutiny on fighting this crime and are working as well on foiling any crime directed at Egypt before it gets to us. Witness the attempt to assassinate Libya's former prime minister and political refugee, 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Bakkush. In the field of fighting this international crime, I am hoping for more integration, cooperation and coordination with all the security agencies in any country of the world because the security mission is a human mission. Its umbrella must shelter all places; the interior minister of any country must not seek to realize security for his people alone without sharing with another country information that would protect any human being on its soil, be he a citizen of that country or any other country. Protection of people is a human duty that must be fulfilled, regardless of where the people who need protection live or how they think.

[Question] Do not the political stances among countries impede realizing such a human goal?

[Answer] This humane issue must rise above all considerations. Therefore, I hope for more coordination and cooperation between the Egyptian security agencies and any other agency in any country. The nature of the regime does not stand between us and other countries, and we are ready, on our part,

to place all our expertise and all the information we receive at the disposal of security agencies in a certain country in order to achieve security, care and protection for any human being in this country, be he a citizen or a guest, out of our belief in the humaneness of the security mission. This is a new dimension of the security movement.

#### Tangible Initiative

[Question] Is there a tangible Egyptian initiative in this regard?

[Answer] The Jordanian interior minister, for instance, visited us, as did his French counterpart before him. A week ago, I held talks with the [Republic of] Maldives, and I look forward to the visit of my colleagues, the interior ministers of any Arab, African or European country or any other country of the world, to coordinate the confrontation of a major issue that concerns us all, namely, international terrorism. Here I commend the role the competent agencies have played in combatting international terrorism in Egypt. I am proud of their skills and high performance standards that enable them to counter any attempt to export any kind of terrorism to our land or against our people.

[Question] Has Your Excellency received invitations to visit other countries?

[Answer] I have received invitations from the interior ministers of Jordan, France and the Maldives.

[Question] Have you accepted these invitations?

[Answer] I hope to pay short visits to these countries when my circumstances allow.

[Question] Which of these countries will you visit first?

[Answer] Brother Jordan, to further the required cooperation between our two peoples.

[Question] When will the visit take place?

[Answer] In the near future, God willing.

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EGYPT

# LABOR OFFICIALS DISCUSS LACK OF UNIVERSITY APPEAL FOR WORKERS

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 4 Feb 85 p 3

/Article by Sayyid 'Abd-al-'Ati: "Why Are Workers Refusing to Go to the Workers' University?"/

/Text/ The Workers' University, the dream of 4 million Egyptian workers, has begun its first academic year with just 45 students, although it has places and the university has waived some conditions for admission to it!

The strange thing is that some work bodies have not given agreement to granting study leaves without salary to workers studying in the university, and some of the people who have become enrolled in studies on a regular basis have been suddenly given warnings of termination because of their continued absence from work, which has prompted them to leave the university!

Although the university began instruction belatedly, a year and a half after its inauguration in April 1982, because the curricula had not been set out and a staff of specialized teachers was not present, many labor unions abstained from expressing their opinion in the poll which university officials had prepared for the 23 unions to express views on the structure of the university, the method and type of study and teacher and the curricula which had to be taught in the university.

One anomaly which has provoked amazement is that officials did not get Dr Hilmi Murad, the first person to call for the establishment of a workers' university, at the time he was appointed director of the Workers' Cultural Institute in 1962, that is, just a year after the establishment of the institute, to participate in setting out the cornerstone in 1978 or even in opening the university in April 1983.

## How Did the University Come About?

The story of the Workers' University began when Presidential Decree 2253 for 1960 was issued establishing the Workers' Cultural Institute, which was subordinate to the political organization (the National Union, then subsequently the Arab Socialist Union). It was then opened in October 1961, and in June 1977 a decree was issued that the Workers' Cultural Institute and the social institute in Shubra al-Khaymah were to be subordinate to the General Federation of Workers' Unions. The decree included the method for selecting the boards of directors of the two institutes and the activities of each.

Therefore, 53 centers were established throughout the republic to provide education for the workers, and then seven specialized institutes were established to prepare worker leaders in the specialized areas.

When the federation decided to start instruction in the university last 27 October, a number of concentrated meetings were held to study the working paper the professors and experts had presented. In early October, the board of directors of the General Federation, under the chairmanship of Sa'd Muhammad Ahmad, the minister of manpower and chairman of the Egypt General Federation of Labor Unions, held two meetings which the chairmen of the general unions attended to approve the curricula in the university. However, the first meeting quickly broke up before it started on that, because the unions had not sent their recommendations concerning the method of instruction in the university. The recommendations of just nine of the 23 unions were studied at the second meeting, and it was decided that studies would begin last 27 October in just four branches, instead of the 10 branches stipulated, with the provision that each union would nominate four teachers, provided that the candidates be elected members of the union organizations and that they be qualified persons who had taken part in one or two sessions at one of the seven workers' culture institutes.

#### Just 39 Students

However, 1 week before the start of studies, the officials were surprised to see that only 39 students had presented themselves to the university; this provoked anxiety among officials in the university and prompted them to waive some conditions for admission. They were compelled to raise the number of candidates from four to six per union. However, the receptivity remained low, and this brought the officials to become very open to anyone wanting to enroll in the university, even if he had not received educational sessions or qualifications!

In spite of these waivers, the officials were surprised at the beginning of studies to find that only 82 students had presented themselves. This prompted the minister of manpower to issue a decree postponing studies 9 weeks.

#### The Unions' Retrenchment

AL-AHRAR went to the Workers' University building in Madinat Nasr and met with a number of students, who agreed unanimously that there were a number of reasons behind the workers' failure to be receptive to enrollment in the university, including the retrenchment of some unions and their failure to respond to the university decree on the payment of 50 pounds per student. In addition, some work bodies did not agree to give those of their employees the unions had nominated a study grant without salary, and some of the people who had enrolled in studies on a regular basis were surprised to receive warnings of termination due to their continued absence from work, which impelled them to leave the university. In addition, students were kept from being granted this sort of leave.

Although Sa'd Muhammad Ahmad, the minister of manpower, in the course of the inauguration of the university, had previously declared that he would amend the present ministerial decree which prevents people who so wished from enrolling in special studies and educational sessions, in a manner where workers would be permitted to join the university, since the course session was no less than 6 months long and the current decree has not yet permitted workers to obtain such leaves for more than just 3 weeks, the amended decree has not been issued and indications are that the minister has not been able to issue this decree, especially since the government's policy calls for production to be increased and workers to stay close to their places of work.

#### An Experimental Course Session!

A meeting took place with Muhammad Fahmi Badr, first vice chairman of the General Wood and Construction Industry Union and secretary of the Egypt General Workers Federation. He said,

"The union is not enthusiastic about this session of courses, because it is considered an experimental one. Consequently, we have concentrated on nominating two students for the second session.

"Although the minimum for admission to the university is for the person applying to have done two sessions in specialized institutes belonging to the organization, a waiver has been made and unqualified workers have been accepted. I do not know whether these waivers will be repeated in the coming sessions!"

The secretary of the General Federation added: "The Workers' University is the same as the Workers' Cultural Institute, because the institute, since its establishment, has not imposed the condition of payment of fees for enrollment to any of the institutes belonging to it. Rather, in some cases, it has paid the students' expenses of transportation, living and food in order to encourage workers to be receptive to these sessions. It was necessary that the studies in the university be free, especially in the early years, so that students would be receptive to them. However, the condition that fees be paid has limited the workers' receptivity, especially since we are suffering from high prices."

#### Many Problems

'Abd-al-Majid al-Damlawi, director of the Workers' University, said that the Workers' University is a massive enterprise and perforce faces many problems, although the university, whose construction cost more than \$1 million, is an extension of the 53 workers' cultural centers and seven specialized institutes for training labor leaders.

I asked, "The university is suffering from the absence of a staff of university professors for instruction, as a result of which the students have failed to be attracted and their numbers have declined to 45!"

The director of the Workers' University said, "When the university was opened in April 1983, only the building was inaugurated, until the departments were combined and transferred. We are actually suffering from a shortage in the number of specialized university professors, which is a problem facing every new university."

I asked, "How many university professors are teaching in the university?"

He said, "There are four professors, but there will soon be a special staff in the university."

I asked, "There used to be conditions for the acceptance of students in the university, but these conditions have been waived. Why?"

The director of the Workers' University said, "The condition for accepting students for enrollment in the university was that they have obtained intermediate credentials and that the workers have done one or two sessions at the specialized institutes belonging to the Workers' Cultural Institute. However, at the beginning no specific qualifications were specified for admission to the university, so that there would be a willingness to enroll, since it is a new experiment."

I asked, "How many students can the university admit?"

The director of the Workers' University said, "The university can accommodate 300 students, since it contains 13 lecture halls. Up to the first week of study, the number of people who had presented themselves were 82, but after that we were surprised to find the number dropping."

"In the second year, graduates do not receive promotions or raises, but the diploma will be of benefit to them in their union activity."

I asked, "What qualifications will graduates receive and in what field will they benefit them?"

He said, "The university gives graduates the degree of a diploma in a specialization in the first year, then a specialized technical diploma."

Finally, there was my meeting with Dr Hilmi Murad, the first person to call for the establishment of the Workers' University in 1962, when he occupied the position of director of the Workers' Cultural Institution. Dr Hilmi Murad started the discussion by saying, "Although I was the first person to call for the establishment of the Workers' University, no official invited me from the time the foundation stone was laid in 1978 or even upon the inauguration of the university in 1983. However, the university is a dream which was realized after decades, and necessity dictated the establishment of the university after the union personnel had been conducting diplomatic

contacts and representing the country at international conferences, requiring that they be given the necessary preparation to represent Egypt well.

Above and beyond that, Egypt's status among Arab and African countries requires that these countries be given scope for union studies and that union members from them be admitted to study in the country."

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EGYPT

# SALAH ABU ISMA'IL DISCUSSES RESIGNATION FROM WAFD

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 28 Jan 85 p 3

[Interview with Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il, Muslim Brotherhood leader, by Jamal 'Abd-al-Sami': "Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il to AL-AHRAR: Reasons for My Resignation from Wafd; Disagreement Started with Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din on Implementation of Rules of Islamic Shari'a"]

[Text] Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il is one of the main pillars on which the Wafd Party's strength rests by virtue of the capability and popularity he enjoys as one of the Muslim Brotherhood's leaders and as a well-known religious scholar.

Shaykh Salah, the Wafdist member of the People's Assembly, exploded a bomb which has had and continues to have enormous reverberations when he declared at the big Islamic popular conference held at al-Nur Mosque in al-'Abbasiyah that he has decided to shed the robe of partisanship and to work as an ordinary member of the People's Assembly for the application of the Islamic Shari'a.

In an interview with Shaykh Salah, AL-AHRAR, was eager to find out the real circumstances that motivated Shaykh Salah to do this.

## Islam Is My Cause

[Question] What are the reasons and what is the background that motivated you to make such a decision?

[Answer] Islam is my cause and the application of the Islamic Shari'a is my mission. I have done this in response to my faith on the one hand and for the sake of my country's salvation on the other.

Egypt aspires for economic prosperity and God, may He be praised, says: "If village and city dwellers believe and turn pious, we will shower them with blessings from heaven and earth. But they have lied and we have seized them for their lies."

Egypt also aspires for military victory and God says: "O, you faithful, if you support God, He will give you victory and strengthen you."



Egypt, moreover, aspires for a comprehensive unity that binds it to its Arab and Muslim sisters and God says: "The faithful are brothers."

Egypt aspires for national unity and God says: "God does not forbid you from being benevolent and fair to those who have not fought your religion and have not displaced you. God loves the just."

Egypt aspires for widespread security and God, may He be praised, says: "Those who believe and who do not confound their faith with evil-doing shall have security and be the guided ones."

There is no doubt that I share with every Egyptian, regardless of the position he holds, the belief that these requirements--namely prosperity, security, victory, dignity and unity--are some of the objectives and goals we seek to achieve.

#### I Disagree with Others

Even though I share with others these goals which we seek to achieve, I disagree with them on the means. I believe that Islam is the means--"and who is a better judge than God for people who believe?"

My aspiration for the implementation of the Shari'a has made it the dream of my nights, the hope of my days, the torch guiding my steps and the light I follow. For this I have worked as a teacher, I have ascended the podium on Fridays, I have written and lectured and I have worked in all spheres. The path has led me to the membership of the legislative authority which is the lawmaker. I have said that if we can attain the application of the Islamic Shari'a by way of the legislative authority, then this means that we will push Islamic laws through the judicial authority and then the executive authority will find itself performing its duty of making God's word the uppermost word.

I went through the experience in 1976 as an independent and found out under the dome of the People's Assembly that the opposition, regardless of its size and of the status of its members, cannot make the decision.

As soon as I discovered this, I responded to the call to join Egypt's party (the then ruling party). I felt at the time that I was doing the party a favor by joining it because I entered it as a deputy and the party had no credit for my success. The credit for that success [my being elected deputy] goes to God and to the honorable residents of al-Mansuriyah District which has now become the Ambabah police precinct.

I joined Egypt's party in its capacity as the majority party and I agreed with the party that my membership in it would last only 1 year unless it proves sincere in implementing the Islamic Shari'a, in which case it would be permanent company.

## They Cheered for Two Opposites

During the year, I was able, God be thanked, to achieve a lot of which people are not aware "and it suffices that God knows."

I ended up getting the signatures of 320 members of the Assembly's 360 members of the 1976-79 People's Assembly session. I rose to speak in the name of those signatories and they cheered and applauded me. But Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din, the then minister of state for the People's Assembly affairs, rose to tell the deputies: "The government is no less eager than you are for Islam and its legislation. But we only beg you to give us the opportunity for political harmony." The deputies cheered him and this was tantamount to abandoning their initial applause for me because the opposites cannot be combined. I said I wanted implementation of the Shari'a and they applauded me and Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din demanded the postponement of this implementation and they applauded him! The second applause nullified the first and I found it an opportunity to disavow Egypt's Party on the grounds that these are the kinds of bases and leaderships it had and that it had swerved from its principles and programs. I joined the new al-Wafd Party when it first emerged in 1978.

### Only Source

I asked Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din at the time: "Where does Islam stand in your program?"

He reached for the party program, opened a certain page in the program and put his finger under a line it contained and said: "Read this line." I looked at the line which read: "The party, meaning the New Wafd Party, believes that the Islamic Shari'a is the sole source of legislation in Egypt." What drew my attention was the word "sole." They did not say the "fundamental" or the "main" but the "sole."

Thus, the Wafd distinguished itself from the other parties.

When the Islamic Shari'a is the sole source, then this means that the Koran has become a source, consensus a source, analogy a source and discretion in legal decisions a source. It means that what people deem to be good is good and has become a source and that wisdom is the believer's cherished object and that if he finds it, it belongs to him. Legislation is derived from all these sources. However, there is no place for opinion where there is a clear text: "The only thing for the believers to do if they call on God and His prophet to be their judge is to say we hear and obey. These are the successful."

I registered myself at the (Registration Bureau) as a founding member of the New Wafd Party in 1978. The party gained the quorum needed for declaring its birth and it was born and took its first steps on the path. The party then suspended its activity for a period of time and later resumed this activity after the causes of suspension disappeared.

## Wafd and Brotherhood

I played a major role in establishing a link between the Wafd and the Muslim Brotherhood and said that I was the Wafd's ambassador to the Brotherhood and the Brotherhood's ambassador to the Wafd. The Brothers are loyal to the Islamic call which runs in their blood and with which their hearts beat. The call is their life, Islam is their path, God's book is their constitution, God is their goal and the prophet is their model. However, the Brothers were convinced of the need to join the Wafd Party on the basis that it is a legitimate channel through which they can pass to take their place in the legislative authority, thus gaining immunity and an opportunity to preach God's way in the wake of the constriction to which the Islamic call had been subjected here and there.

## If We Were To Break Shaykh Salah to Pieces

During the latest election campaign in May 1984, Siraj-al-Din used to tell the masses: "If we were to break Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il to pieces, there would not be enough pieces to meet all the requests demanding his presence at the popular conferences held in the various governorates on occasion of the approaching elections." During the campaign, people used to tell me: "You are a Muslim and the Wafd Party is secular."

I would say in reply that to them secularism means the separation of state and church whereas the Wafd's old glory lay in the fact that it always upheld the constitution and that Article 2 of the current constitution states that the Islamic Shari'a is the main source of legislation in Egypt. If the Wafd upholds the constitution, as it has always done, then it cannot but declare that it is with Islam, that it is [word indistinct] for secularism and that its belief in national unity is a part of the beliefs and traditions which we will never abandon. Moreover, I would say that al-Wafd's program states that the Islamic Shari'a is the sole source of legislation and that this is what the Wafd will implement if it wins a majority and forms the government!

I was careful during the election campaign to make sure that Wafd printed leaflets declaring its support and demand for the Islamic Shari'a, and it did. I also asked Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din [part of sentence dropped] and that on this occasion, we do not permit any Muslim or Copt to attack Egypt's national unity.

I said in an address to the People's Assembly: "I will redeem national unity with my life." These words are recorded in the minutes, they were published in the press and I still reiterate them. I reiterate them on an Islamic basis because God has said: "There shall be no coercion in religion." God also said: "God does not forbid you from being benevolent and fair to those who have not fought your religion and have not displaced you. God loves the just."

The prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, lived with the Jews in Medina, remaining true to his pledge that they would have their religion and the Muslims would have theirs, that they would have their houses of worship

and we would have our mosques and that we, as two elements within a single homeland, namely Medina, would live as brothers and soldiers defending it against any external invasion or danger threatening it. The prophet remained loyal to the Jews and they continued to enjoy their rights until the al-Ahzab invasion took place when they betrayed and violated the covenant. So their presence in Medina was eliminated, not because they were Jews but because they were emigrants [presumably meaning deserters].

'Umar ibn al-Khattab's stance in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is clear in history and his judgment against the son of 'Amr ibn al-'As and in favor of the Copt is also well known. The position of 'Amr ibn al-'As toward Egypt's Christians and Copts is also well known. None of these issues needs to be detailed or explained. Implementation of the Islamic Shari'a poses no danger to the rights of non-Muslims. This is the book of God and of His prophet. We are only repeating these facts. These words are not political. They are religion, rather the essence of religion. Therefore, we will permit neither Muslim nor Copt to kindle the fire of sectarian sedition between the nation's two elements. This is why I call for implementing the Islamic Shari'a as a bastion of national unity because obstructing the Islamic Shari'a in the interest of so-called national unity is tantamount to being ignorant of Islam and to straying from the spirit of national unity because the Muslims cannot be pleased to see their Shari'a decline or their holy book abandoned, especially since the Islamic Shari'a ruled Egypt until a century ago and declined only after the British colonization of Egypt.

#### I Was Surprised After Elections

After the elections, I was surprised to find that the first resolution taken by the Wafd Party's Higher Committee and by the party chairman was the resolution stripping me of my position as al-Wafd spokesman in the People's Assembly and appointing esteemed brother Mumtaz Nassar to the position. Mumtaz Nassar's name is well known and he is a positive, vigilant and energetic man whom I wish nothing but health and success.

But I find nothing embarrassing in my esteem for prominent brother Mumtaz Nassar and my raising a question dictated by my course. I told them [the Wafd]: "If the shift from me to Mumtaz Nassar is a shift from one person to another then the matter is a very simple matter, provided you maintain the course on whose basis I have joined you, namely the course of demanding the implementation of the Islamic Shari'a. Or is this a shift from one course to another?" I received no answer. That night, I had to go to Kuwait and so I announced that I was freezing my membership in the Wafd until I could receive an answer. It does not concern me if I am in the forefront or in the rear because such matters do not concern people with beliefs. Khalid ibn al-Walid was dismissed at a time when he was a triumphant commander and all he did was to pledge his allegiance to his successor, 'Ubaydah 'Amir ibn al-Jarrah, and the two men cooperated on the same path. This is what men with principles are like. I left [for Kuwait]. Then the Wafd resolutions were published in AL-WAFD, the edition of 6 June 1984, and I read them on 9 June 1984. I also read a statement by brother Mumtaz Nassar saying that the first thing he will do is to demand implementation of the Islamic Shari'a

at the People's Assembly. I considered this statement a reply to the question I had asked four times but to which I got no answer at the time. I cabled Nassar congratulating him and pledging my loyalty and support for him as leader of the opposition. Thus, the path became clear and I changed my position on the suspension, moving with God's blessing.

In the People's Assembly, I looked at the opposition and found out that this opposition, by virtue of its size and regardless of the strength of its members, was incapable of making the decision promulgating a law. This is obvious in the democratic world. I found that the opposition consisted of 58 members of the Wafd and a number of other colleagues and that it was incapable of decision making. So I contacted my brothers in the National Party, especially the brothers with religious tendencies, the Shari'a scholars and other religious people, to find out the number needed to make the decision.

We collected some signatures and the news reached Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din. He contacted me and asked that I send him the paper containing the signatures, which I did. It was his opinion that this was not the right way, since we had gathered numerous signatures in a previous Assembly and the signatories renounced what they had signed. I told Siraj-al-Din that we cannot do without contacting the colleagues, but perhaps we may be able to achieve the numerical majority sufficient to make the decision. I also told him that we alone cannot obtain a resolution to approve the legislation, especially since the Islamic Shari'a is a national demand to which millions in Egypt and abroad aspire. The Islamic world considers Egypt the leader and vanguard in exploring the way. Egypt is al-Azhar's country and our demand must be this demand that is contained in the programs of all the parties, including the National Party, the Grouping, the Liberal Party, the Labor Party, al-Ummah Party and the Wafd Party. But Siraj-al-Din took the paper, folded it and put it in his pocket.

I then went to attend the Islamic conference in Khartoum on the occasion of the first anniversary of the implementation of the Islamic Shari'a in Sudan.

On the day of my departure, I was attending a meeting of the Wafd's Higher Committee and I asked to be excused. They asked me where I was going. On that day, Counselor Mumtaz Nassar caught up with me at the airport and told me: "I have come to inform you that the Higher Committee has decided that you may not speak about the Islamic Shari'a in Sudan in the Wafd's name." I was stunned and I said in protest that I was not invited to the conference as a Wafdist but as a religious scholar. I also told him that I was not the Wafd's chairman nor the opposition leader and that, therefore, I would speak about Islam only in my capacity as a Muslim scholar.

#### After Cabinet Statement

On Friday, 11 January 1985, the party's Parliamentary Committee held its meeting prior to the start of the People's Assembly sessions which began on Saturday, 12 January. I was careful to attend that meeting and I told Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din and the attending colleagues on that day that the time had come to submit my proposal to have the Islamic Shari'a issue debated in the

People's Assembly. I made this statement because when I had gone to Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub [Assembly speaker] at the outset of this Assembly, which began after the May 1984 elections, and asked him about his opinion on the issue of the implementation of the Islamic Shari'a, he said readily: "Of course you know that whatever concerns the previous Assembly ended with the end of that Assembly." I said to him: "I am aware of this but I also know that the rules map the way for rescuing whatever previous activities can be rescued." But Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub begged that all thinking on this issue be postponed and that these tendencies be delayed until the right time comes. I told him: "I do [not] permit myself to dominate the Dominant, may He be praised. I know my limits and I know my significance in comparison with my God. He is my God and I am his servant and there can be no interpretation where there is a clear text. 'But the only thing the faithful can do when they call upon God and His prophet to be their judge is to say we hear and obey. These are the successful.'"

I departed from al-Mahjub's office without any hope that he would respond to the Islamic Shari'a. However, my situation is that of any explorer who explores the path and finds that the obstacles on the path only make him more resolved, determined and resolute. If we achieve the objective, then this is what we seek and if we cannot achieve it, then we have performed our duty. God told the prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, "All you have to do is to convey the message. We are the One to bring to account."

On the other hand, I planned with all my brothers the People's Assembly members from all the parties that they demand at the outset of the activities of this session the implementation of the Islamic Shari'a, without anyone figuring prominently among them, either as a person or a signature, in any position. This underlined the psychological meanings I had portrayed. Those brothers participated out of their awareness of the past in whose battles they had taken part. I said to myself: Let other faces proceed to make the demand. To make a long story short, 63 signatures were gathered and the signatories went to the People's Assembly speaker without me. They then came to tell me: Neither our bill, our expression of desire nor our tendency was accepted. At this point, namely Monday, 14 January, I realized what my duty was.

So I went to him [presumably the Assembly speaker] and said: "I demand enactment of the rules and I accept that my signature be included as the 67th signature and that I be listed as the 5th to speak in the name of the signatories. Most of these brothers are new to the Assembly. By virtue of my long relationship with the Assembly and with regulatory action, I tell you that you are governed by the rules that control us and you cannot act at the expense of the rules. You are required to act within the rules."

In the name of the rules, I demand that you accept these signatures and include this demand [in the Assembly's agenda]. I demand that the Islamic Shari'a issue be debated so as to save it from loss. I demand that you raise it to the legislative framework and include it in the agenda of the Assembly's earliest possible session. But he refused and I insisted that he accept. He called his office director, who took the request. I demanded that

the Assembly speaker sign a copy showing that he received the original request because we like to deal officially and we do not accept wasted time. He refused. So I wrote on the copy: We affirm that Salah Abu Isma'il came to the People's Assembly and that in the presence of Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id and of a number of deputies--names listed--Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, the Assembly speaker, received the original and refused to sign the copy acknowledging the receipt.

Truly Regrettable

This has been my role in the Assembly. But what is truly regrettable is what happened at the meeting of the Wafd Party's Parliamentary Committee on 11 January 1985. I hope to be honest in conveying what happened. I could do without all this but the issue is not my issue alone. It is the issue of millions of Muslims with me.

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din did not reject openly the demand for the implementation of the Islamic Shari'a, but neither did he accept it openly.

He said: "We first demand a bill banning gambling." I told him: "We do not accept partition or graduality in view of God's words: 'I have completed for you your religion, have given you My full blessing and have accepted Islam for your religion.' Partition and graduality were acceptable at the dawn of legislation but since God has said regarding alcohol 'avoid it,' then alcohol must be avoided. God also said: 'God has permitted selling and prohibited usury.' Therefore, usury must be prohibited. God also said: 'Give the adulterer and the adulteress 100 lashes each.' There can be no leniency and no procrastination in establishing the limits. We reject the principle of procrastination and partition. We do not dominate God and we cannot but prostrate ourselves before our God and say: 'We hear and obey.'"

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said: "Do you want us to swerve from the legislation accomplished by the People's Assembly?" I told him: "This legislation has been accomplished by Shari'a ulema and by legal specialists who have their religious tendencies and has been reviewed by al-Azhar's Interpretation Committee. The bills were returned to the People's Assembly after being reviewed at the technical and Islamic levels and were printed and distributed to the members of the previous Assembly. Our discussion does not concern these bills but rather pertains to the principle of demanding a debate on the Islamic Shari'a issue."

Do You Have Objection?

Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il added:

"I asked Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din: 'Do you have any objection to implementing the Islamic Shari'a in principle so that we may then turn to discussing the issue of the bills?'"

But the big surprise came when he said: "We will not move as a party to demand implementing the Islamic Shari'a." I said: "Then let us move as individuals." He answered: "We will not permit you to move as individuals either."

I said: "God be praised. So, I was more capable as an independent to serve the Islamic Shari'a than I am as a party member." I then asked him: "Have you forgotten that the party program says so and so regarding the Shari'a issue, that the party leaflets said thus and thus on the Shari'a issue during the election period and that your statement which was published in the papers on 11 March 1984 said this and that regarding the Shari'a issue? Where do we stand vis-a-vis all this? This is a deviation from the program, the election declaration and the election leaflets and from our pledge to the people and the people's pledge to us."

But the party chairman insisted on what he said.

I said to Siraj-al-Din: "Then let us present the issue to the Parliamentary Committee to find out the brothers' opinion on this issue, which is an axiomatic issue requiring no presentation."

He said: "We will not present it to the Parliamentary Committee either."

#### Shedding Partisan Robe

With this, I decided to shed the partisan robe and to continue my activity in the Assembly as an independent, as I had done before. I will submit my problem with the party chairman to the party's General Assembly. I am not inclined to resign from the Wafd but I will boycott the meetings of the Higher Committee and of the Parliamentary Committee until one of two things happens:

Either the party chairman changes his position and returns to the path charted by the party program and outlined by the party's election declaration and leaflets, in which case I will consider his change of position an end to my boycott and his return to the charted path a happy ending.

But if he persists in his position, the General Assembly will decide this matter. I believe that the matter is already decided in light of the party program, of the considerations I have already pointed out and of the constitution itself.

Again, I am not resigning from al-Wafd but I am freezing my membership until I see my way. I will find my way in one of two ways inside the Wafd or in a third way outside the Wafd.

Inside the Wafd, either the party chairman changes his position or the General Assembly decides in favor of the program. If something else happens, then there is no doubt that my path with Islam lies outside the Wafd's framework.

#### Assembly Convocation

[Question] When will the General Assembly convene?

[Answer] The party's constitution determines the date of the General Assembly's convocation. The period during which the party suspended its activity does not count. Therefore, I consider the party's activity before the freeze



a period tied to the party's resumed activity after a court decision was issued in its favor. I believe that the General Assembly's meeting will take place shortly. I have no date in mind at present.

#### Form of Activity

[Question] What form will your movement within the People's Assembly take from now until the General Assembly convenes?

[Answer] As a member of the People's Assembly, I will move within an Egyptian constitutional national framework. The question of the implementation of the Islamic Shari'a is an issue on which no two people, be they Wafdists or non-Wafdists, disagree. The programs of all parties agree on this issue.

#### Partial Contradiction

[Question] Isn't there a partial contradiction between your statement about shedding the partisan robe and your announcement that you are not resigning?

[Answer] In shedding the partisan robe in its political sense, i.e., in the sense of partisan commitment and not in the programmatic sense, I find nothing embarrassing in my commitment to the program because it can absorb this activity. But at times, the parties are in one valley and their programs in another. At times, parties stray from their programs in the name of partisan commitment. This is the robe I am taking off so that I may stand with principles against the so-called abidance which is a political game at the expense of principles.

#### General Assembly's Decision

[Question] You have said that you abide by God's word and that God controls you. Thus, does not your faith in the cause absolve you of waiting for the General Assembly's decision?

[Answer] The issue must be submitted to the General Assembly. I believe that submitting the issue to the General Assembly does not mean that my commitment to Islam depends on anybody. It means that I am confident that the party's program, principles and objectives support me. I am confident that the General Assembly will not swerve from the program, the principles, the motives or the objectives.

Assuming the unlikely and the impossible, namely that General Assembly reaches a different opinion calling for abandoning the demand for implementing the Islamic Shari'a, then I will always be with God.

#### Tailoring Rule

[Question] What will your position be if the party, including both its chairman and its General Assembly, decides to oust you from the party? You are well aware the party can tailor a special law to drop your membership.

[Answer] God, may He be praised, says to those with a heart: "God answered them: I will not waste the effort of any one of you, male or female." God also said: "Those who have emigrated, those who have been driven away from their homes and those who have been hurt for My sake." The phrase "hurt for my sake" embraces the possibilities you raise. What is important is that if for the sake of God, we leave triumphant and achieve our aspirations, then this is what we seek. If we leave wounded, God has promised those who have been hurt for his sake as well. For God's sake, it makes no difference if this life smiles on us or frowns at us. What is important is that we be with God if He tests us with what is good and tests us with what is bad. God says: "We will afflict you with evil and will test you with good and you shall return to Us."

[Question] What would your position be if one of the parties, let us say the Liberal Party for example, adopts the cause now that the Wafd has abandoned it?

[Answer] This is premature.

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EGYPT

BUTRUS GHALI INSISTS TIME NOT IN FAVOR OF ARABS

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 2-8 Feb 85 pp 22-23

[Interview with Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs, by 'Adnan Nasrawayn in Paris: "Time Not In Arabs' Favor, Continued Initiative Needed"; date not specified]

[Text] Dr Butrus Ghali, Egyptian minister of state for foreign affairs, was the first Arab official to meet in Paris with Mr Roland Dumas since the latter assumed his position as French minister of foreign relations in mid-September of last year. AL-TADAMUN had the following interview with Dr Ghali in Paris:

[Question] Your visit to Paris appears to come within the framework of constant contacts Cairo is holding with France and the European community nations. Does this visit mean that you are expecting a specific French and European role in the Middle East?

[Answer] My talks with Mr Roland Dumas, French minister of foreign relations, during my meeting with him last week dealt with the importance of the role of the European community can play as a key element in keeping the Palestinian cause in the forefront of world public opinion and the primary concern of the international family. In my opinion, the European role at this point in time is based on making contact with the United States to persuade it of the necessity to afford the Palestinian cause the attention it requires so that Washington will become aware that the Palestinian problem is the focus of the Arab-Israeli conflict and is awaiting an urgent and quick solution to create an atmosphere of detente and dialogue in the area. Furthermore, West Europe can work toward persuading the Israeli Labor Party to show flexibility toward Palestinian rights and to halt the establishment of Israeli settlements in occupied Arab areas. The importance of the European role further lies in the contacts some European Common Market countries can play with the Arab and Palestinian parties to assure them of the existence of a party uninterested in the ambitions of the two super powers and able to secure endeavors for a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. What we expect from the European role is the holding of contacts between the parties involved in the conflict.

[Question] Do you share Jordan's view about the need to call for convening an international conference on the Middle East? And, is there a possibility for a tripartite Palestinian-Jordanian-Egyptian axis to confront the peace process in the Middle East?

[Answer] In light of the exchange of visits between President Husni Mubarak and King Husayn, following the resumption of bilateral Egyptian-Jordanian relations, I can say there is constant coordination between Cairo and Amman. We in Egypt support convening an international conference with the participation of the two super powers within the framework of the United Nations because we believe that we have to keep our country away from the negative consequences and interplays of the cold war between Washington and Moscow. The best guarantee for peace in the area is to guarantee peaceful detente between the two super powers. However, the convening of an international conference requires extensive preparations, and, until such a conference can be held, a diplomatic initiative must be pursued to get the cause out of its deadlock. We accept any initiative that guarantees a halt to Israel's expansionist measures of annexing West Bank and Gaza Strip territory and a willingness to recognize the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. Time is not in the Arabs' favor and there has to be movement on all diplomatic fronts--Arab, European, American and Soviet--to revive the issue in the minds of world officials and world public opinion. As for an Egyptian-Jordanian-Palestinian dialogue, we reject the policy of axes, but this does not preclude the continuation of Egyptian-Jordanian-Palestinian contacts to find a common denominator for an effective diplomatic initiative in world circles to guarantee the national rights of the Palestinian people and peace and stability for all the countries of the region.

[Question] Is there anything new in the Soviet position on peace in the Middle East?

[Answer] Egypt has announced on more than one occasion that a just and total peace in the Middle East can only be achieved through detente between the two super powers. We do not wish for a diplomatic clash between Washington and Moscow because it will be harmful to the entire area, should it become the cold war theatre between them. Thus, diplomatic agreement between Washington and Moscow, as well as political cooperation, must be achieved in view of the influence they have with the parties directly concerned to find a peaceful and lasting solution to the Middle East crisis. Thus, Egyptian diplomacy is demanding the necessary participation of the Soviet Union, side by side with the United States, the European countries and the members of the international Security Council to find such a lasting, comprehensive and just peace.

[Question] Israel's decision to withdraw from Lebanon has prompted numerous comments. What is your position in Egypt on this Israeli decision and its dimensions?

[Answer] The fact is that we find it very natural that Israel should withdraw from Lebanon because it occupied these territories by military force in 1982. Egypt's position on Lebanon was made clear from the outset. It was based on the demand for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory.

[Question] Do you have any comment on the peace plan proposed by Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky?

[Answer] Egypt has always expressed its support of all initiatives mentioned in Chancellor Kreisky's plan. This urges us to welcome any initiative that can move the situation in the Middle East and lead to the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, even if such an initiative only considered partial aspects of the Middle East issues. [This is] because we prefer looking at the issue's given gradually to obliterating the issue in a way that would impose a fait accompli concerning the perpetuation of Israeli military occupation of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Lebanese territory.

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EGYPT

## OPPOSITION TO NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS DISCUSSED

Cairo MAYU in Arabic 17, 24, 31 Dec 84

[Editorial by Muhammad Rashwan in the Column "Peaceful Dialogue"]

[17 Dec 84 p 9]

[Text] In the first interpellation by the Wafd Party, the opposition raised objections to the government's plan to build nuclear power plants. I will avoid going into the constitutional aspects of this interpellation, which were addressed by the opposition and the National Party. This matter was settled by Assembly Speaker Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, and it was well done so that the interpretation of the constitutional law could not lead to a charge of abridging the noble right of a member of the People's Assembly, even though this concept was spoiled by the arbitrary way in which the right was used since the opposition would have gained more from having the interpellation dropped from the agenda than from having it continue.

The preparation for this interpellation was good from the parliamentary standpoint. The opposition and the National Party were given the opportunity to debate it over three sessions. Moreover, the government did its duty and faithfully presented the details of this issue before the People's Assembly after the ministers of electricity, planning, and oil had spoken.

The objectives of the interpellation was not to embarrass the government through criticism because the interpellation was free of specific accusations concerning any acts that may have been committed by the responsible minister in violation of the constitution, the law, or the plan. The interpellating member declared his trust in the minister of electricity. I believe that the opposition's objective was to show its skill at political maneuvering within the People's Assembly and to create a public opinion issue that could escalate into popular pressure to force the government to reconsider and postpone the construction of these nuclear power plants, as has happened in West Germany with the Green Party. This is clear from the demand issued by the opposition calling for a referendum, as well as by the attention devoted to this matter by AL-WAFD newspaper and the conferences that have been held by the party.

The points on which the interpellation was based can be summarized as follows:

--The danger of the leakage of nuclear radiation from these plants to the population, as occurred with one reactor in the United States.

--The huge construction costs of nuclear plants, which increase debt burdens.

--The existence of alternative energy sources, coupled with the fact that the world has begun to stop building these nuclear power plants.

What I hold against this interpellation is its lameness, because it dealt with the issue from the economic and social standpoint and intentionally ignored the issue of national security, the strategic balance in the Middle East region, and the connection between this balance and the construction of power generating stations based on nuclear reactors. Dr Isma'il Sabri 'Abdallah touched on this matter in the newspaper AL-AHALI, and we will devote our next article in the series exclusively to this topic.

We are well aware that for many years Israel has employed all its political powers and intelligence organizations against the friendly states that have expressed their readiness to help Egypt build these reactors to place obstacles in front of us. Their goal is to prevent the construction of nuclear stations in Egyptian territory. The incident of the nuclear power reactor in Iraq and the blowing up of some of its components that were ready for shipment in French ports are not unrelated.

Israel is undoubtedly happy with this interpellation, although I would never think badly of the opposition and its honorable patriotic purpose on such an issue. It is possible that the factor of political maneuvering to stir up public opinion outweighed extremely delicate and sensitive matters pertaining to Egypt's nuclear program for peaceful purposes or the completion of the nuclear power infrastructure in Egypt.

#### Possible Risks

The possibility of the leakage of nuclear radiation is without doubt an important issue which I do not treat lightly. However, if we take this issue at face value, world scientific and technological progress has not achieved such amazing levels of performance. The smoke of factories, cars, airplanes, mines, and chemical and gas industries has begun to threaten the health of humanity. And while possibilities of disasters exist with these technologies, no one can demand that they be destroyed. Scientists are sparing no effort to minimize these dangers, and science stops at no bounds.

We might also mention that Stevens, the inventor of the steam locomotive, faced attacks by public opinion and the farmers because the locomotives threatened people and livestock. In spite of this, railroads have now become one of the major elements of the transportation infrastructure through the world.

Last month I attended the International Conference on Highway Safety and Accidents, which was held in Vienna and was attended by 60 states and 15 international organizations. The speakers included scientists and experts from all parts of the world. They said that vehicle accidents have become an incurable epidemic. Each year some 5 million citizens suffer major or minor injuries or are killed in traffic accidents. In one paper entitled "Costs and Net Worth," a Swedish expert said that his state loses billions of dollars annually as a result of automobile accidents, and this cost is borne by the national economy and the citizens. Scientists and experts are working hard through exhaustive research in both technical and legislative fields to reduce such accidents. However, no one is calling for an end to the manufacture or use of automobiles. We have not heard that the dangers arising from nuclear reactors have threatened human life to one-hundredth the extent that automobile accidents do. The objective alternative to what the opposition has proposed is that it call--as is its right--for submission of the construction contracts for these nuclear stations to the People's Assembly so that it can verify the safety and protection provisions and the responsibility of the companies brought in to maintain and monitor the plants and train Egyptian scientists in these areas.

As for the statement that Europe has stopped building nuclear reactors because of the risks, Europe has accepted the deployment of American nuclear missiles in its own territory, and these pose a far greater danger than nuclear power plants. Europe is still building the plants, but it reduced its plan after it achieved a margin of safety in power generation and ceased to be completely dependent on oil. Its situation was helped particularly by the 25-percent decline in oil prices and the arrival of Siberian natural gas to Europe. In addition, all the territory of the European states is densely populated and the Europeans do not have the deserts that make up 96 percent of Egypt's area. You can see nuclear stations in the middle of large cities in Germany such as Bonn, Frankfurt, Cologne, and others.

As for Austria, whose people rejected the construction of nuclear plants in a referendum, their special situation calls for a departure from mainstream opinion. Austria is a small country with a population of 7.5 million. Its population is gradually declining and will decrease by half a million over the next 20 years. The president of the country has encouraged childbearing. When a mother bears her fifth child, the president adopts the child and grants the child unlimited privileges. In addition, the annual per capita share of energy in Austria has reached approximately 6,000 kilowatt-hours versus 500 kilowatt-hours and \$500 per capita in Egypt. How can a state with a strong infrastructure be compared to ours when we are just starting on the development process?

With regard to the disposal of nuclear waste, there are now plants to treat the waste and extract plutonium 238 from it. The waste can then be exported or buried in the oceans or in the deserts, which are unlimited in Egypt.

Still to be discussed are the economic aspects and matters pertaining to Egypt's strategic security. These topics will be dealt with in our next article.



In the previous article, we said that Israel may be pleased with the interpellation conducted by the Wafd Party aimed at putting pressure on the government and public opinion to stop the construction of nuclear power generating stations. This action spares Israel huge political efforts and reduces the unceasing efforts of its intelligence bureaus and security organizations. These Israeli organizations want Arab capabilities--particularly those of Egypt--to be sapped so that we will remain backward in nuclear power technology, even for peaceful purposes.

In this way, the Wafd Party has unwittingly joined forces with Israel's security goals, which call for the marshaling of all resources to ensure that Israel remains the sole possessor of nuclear deterrent weapons in Middle East. To this end, Israel monitors the nuclear activity of the Arab states with untiring attention. In fact, Israel monitors the capabilities of Arab scientists in the field of nuclear energy and related sciences. We witnessed the death in the United States of one female Egyptian scientist who specialized in this field. This was followed by the assassination of Dr al-Mashd, the Egyptian atomic scientist, in a hotel in Paris. He had been working in Iraq's nuclear program aimed at peaceful purposes.

#### The Big Question

The big question here is if the Egyptian nuclear program is planned for peaceful purposes, whether for scientific research or for power generation. Egypt has signed international accords against the use of nuclear reactors for non-peaceful purposes. It has accepted the monitoring of the International Nuclear Energy Agency in Vienna and the international community has confidence in Egypt's signing of all these agreements. Why, then, do we place such emphasis on the position of Israel? There are two reasons.

The first is psychological. Distrust and fear are part of Israel's strategy. The distrust was compounded by the 1973 war, in which Israel suffered more than 12 [as published] men killed and wounded and lost the best of its aircraft and armor. Israel believes that its strategic security transcends its borders to encompass a triangle formed by Pakistan on the east, Aden on the south, and Algeria on the west. Israel concentrates on monitoring the nuclear activity of Egypt, Iraq and Libya.

The second reason relates to security and to science from the theoretical standpoint. The acquisition of nuclear reactors to generate nuclear power is viewed as the first and major step toward nuclear industries that could subsequently be used for military purposes.

The French scientist, Francis Berne, says that nuclear reactors, like money, can be used for good or for bad, that is, for peaceful or for military purposes.

The American nuclear scientist, Theodore Tyler, has said: "We must put an end to the spread of nuclear power reactors, which now exist in 50 countries, because they are the beginning of a nuclear weapons industry."

To give a basic idea, there are various types of nuclear reactors for power generation, some using light (ordinary) water and others heavy water (or graphite) as a cooling medium. The fuel used is 4-percent enriched uranium 235. Inside the reactor, continuous nuclear fission takes place, controlled by complex safety systems. The fission produces large amounts of steam which is used to drive electric power turbines by the means employed in conventional power stations. The scientific fear is that it is possible to enrich the uranium 235 to 80 percent or to extract plutonium 239 from the nuclear waste in special plants, and both of these elements can be used for making nuclear weapons.

This is what prompted Israel to launch an air raid against the nuclear generating reactors in Iraq in June 1981, despite the fact that the facility was not equipped with plants to treat the waste or enrich the uranium to a high grade. This was also the reason for Israel's assassination of the Egyptian nuclear scientist, Dr al-Mashd, in Paris as mentioned earlier.

BUSINESS WEEK of 14 April 1980 published an article on the nuclear activity of the Arab states. The article stated:

"An Israeli official told us: 'We follow any Arab nuclear activity, discover its secrets and hidden aspects, and prepare to strike and destroy it. The Israeli central intelligence agency, Mosad, will be busy for many years in operations aimed at thwarting and impeding the nuclear programs of the Arab states.'"

What I am writing is not intended to reveal secrets or show intentions. Rather, it is a modest attempt to shed light on public opinion concerning one of the most critical national issues. It is not aimed at defending the government or taking sides with the National Party in an interpellation carried out by the opposition. Rather, it is first and foremost a national duty on behalf of Egypt.

Buying a nuclear power reactor is not a commercial transaction eagerly sought by the producing companies. President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, and after him Sadat, tried repeatedly to get one, but the Soviet Union refused to agree to Egypt's request beyond giving us a small, 2 megawatt thermal research reactor. Nor did the West--the European states or the United States--respond. The sale of a nuclear reactor is a political decision made by the state exporting the reactors and is subject to international considerations of far-reaching complexity. Egypt was unable to penetrate this nuclear blockade imposed upon it until after the peace agreement with Israel and the signing of multi-lateral international treaties. On this basis, Egypt was able to conclude agreements with the United States, France, Germany and Canada for nuclear cooperation for peaceful purposes and power generation.

The issue now is this: Will Egypt remain cut off from scientific progress in energy technology, even though it has one of the largest scientific establishments in terms of experts and scientists? Or will we stay mortgaged to Israeli fear and arbitrariness, which Israel imposes upon us? Will Israel continue to have sovereignty over us, not hesitating to leak articles and information to the international information media to make us fearful of the dangers of these nuclear stations so that we swallow the bait unwittingly?

The Arab states have become alerted to this serious issue, which was discussed for the first time in the Foreign Ministers Conference of 1961 and was recognized by the First Arab Nuclear Energy Conference held in Damascus in June 1981. This conference stressed the necessity of introducing nuclear energy intensively in the Arab world so that the Arab states can obtain alternative energy sources to replace oil, which will run out in the near future. The conference urged the construction of nuclear power stations as an alternative to oil. Among the states attending the conference were Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Algeria, all of which produce huge quantities of oil. But what about Egypt, which will consume all of its oil production and will probably become an oil importer before the year 2000--that is, in 15 years?

Can Egypt be left to import both food and oil? There will be a disaster if we do not formulate a timely program to develop alternative energy sources, including nuclear power stations. The president has called attention to the energy issue and the necessity of directing its use.

We will complete this discussion in the next article, God willing.

[31 Dec 84 p 9]

[Text] At a time when debate is taking place, and seminars and conferences are being held concerning the benefits of nuclear power generating stations, and while some are engaged with good intention in inflating the dangers and minimizing the advantages, Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres traveled to Paris 2 weeks ago. The surprise of the visit was the French administration's agreement to sell two Framatome nuclear power reactors rated at 950 megawatts thermal each. The value of the deal was \$3 billion, and France promised to provide financial aid to finance it. An Israeli scientific delegation will visit France this month to put the finishing touches on this deal, which was concluded with unaccustomed ease. The two sides agreed to strengthen joint scientific research through the French Industry League. This will give Israel four nuclear reactors for military and peaceful purposes with a combined output of 1,932 megawatts thermal, while we own only one 2-megawatt reactor and there is one other like it in Iraq. In other words, all the Arab states combined own only two reactors with a total capacity of 4 megawatts thermal. I do not believe that Israel is suffering from foolishness and stupidity because the lives of its citizens are exposed to danger, and the Israelis live in a confined area of land. Nor do I believe that they are threatened by the growth of their debts--which have reached \$24 billion--or by economic risk because of the conclusion of such a huge deal.

They will close the file they have opened and they will avoid wasting effort that could lead us into a dangerous slip; we did not see a general uproar in the Israeli Knesset when the Israeli-French agreement was announced. Nor did we see the Israeli opposition and the party press rise up to attack the government and put pressure on the public opinion or carry out interpellations. Do we have to learn from Israel, dear brothers?

In reproof of the honest man and wise politician, President Mitterand, we ask: Is it a coincidence that a socialist government in France during the time of Guy Mollet gave a 26-megawatt thermal reactor in 1957, and then the same thing recurred during a socialist government under the Mitterand presidency with France's giving of the two reactors to Israel in 1984?

We may understand that in the first case it was a surprise to Israel because of its participation in the trilateral aggression, and after that it was a policy of DeGaulle and subsequently of the French Right in the D'Estaing administration to limit nuclear and military cooperation with Israel because of its refusal to implement the UN resolutions.

There is no doubt that Egyptian diplomacy will not allow this matter to pass by unchallenged, especially since Egypt and France maintain extensive political and economic cooperation in a variety of fields. I do not say that we have the power to undo the agreement that has been made between France and Israel. However, we do have many cards, the first of which are to demand reciprocity and to call for these reactors to be placed under international supervision, which Israel rejects. We place our confidence in the effectiveness of Egyptian diplomacy to bring about a reconsideration and put together the unlimited cards, and God will take care of things.

#### The Contemporary Sciences and the Big Race

When the state of Israel came into existence, we said that the Arabs were 100 million strong and time was with us. We are now 22 states and 190 million people, and Israel is taking advantage of time while we waste it in accusations, plots, assassinations, and sterile theoretical argument.

The foundation of the Arab-Israeli struggle has not become population and numbers but first and foremost the insane scientific race which knows no pity or neglect. The contemporary sciences are nuclear energy, computers, and the like, and he who has mastery over these sciences holds the upper hand. Or at the least we guarantee strategic balance so that the politics of the fait accompli to which the international community is subject does not become the ultimate end. It is this type of politics that Israel is implementing in stages with skill and acumen in the Middle East region.

I am confused at the behavior of some of our distinguished scientists, who participate in conferences and attack the nuclear program in Egypt. I ask them with all innocence and good intention: What is the fate of the sciences that they teach our children in the colleges--chemistry, physics, mathematics, and nuclear engineering? Where will there be opportunities to use these sciences in practical applications? Will we be content to spend millions and then send these young experts to foreign states or other Arab states after they obtain their distinguished and rare scientific degrees?

#### Nuclear Construction in Israel

Experts agree that Israel has become one of the most advanced states in the nuclear sciences and owns the largest arsenal of nuclear weapons in the Middle East. The Israeli nuclear program began from the first day of its

birth in 1948 and was subject to the most stringent kinds of secrecy. When some information about its activities leaked out, we said it was psychological warfare that Israel was waging against us. Israel was happy with this because (we) remained asleep.

Israel built its first reactor in Nahal Soreq for research purposes with the assistance of the United States. This reactor was subject to formal oversight. However, Israel's opportunity came after the trilateral aggression when it received a large, 26-megawatt reactor from France that was erected in Dimona. France exempted Israel from inspection and oversight provisions in this case, and Ben-Gurion announced that there was a textile mill in the Dimona area. Israel was able to obtain highly enriched uranium from the United States. The uranium was initially supplied at the rate of 6 kilograms per year, and this amount was later increased to 8 kilograms per year. Then Israel built a plant to extract plutonium 239 from the nuclear waste economically. These are the two materials necessary to manufacture nuclear weapons.

Israel was not satisfied with this, and so the Mosad carried out the infamous uranium thefts, including 200 tons from a German steamer in 1968 followed by 360 rotls of enriched uranium from a plant in Pennsylvania in the United States. This gave Israel sufficient material to manufacture nuclear bombs. After that it developed Jericho rockets to carry nuclear warheads along with a nuclear launch system. The military nuclear activity was placed directly under the prime minister and the secretary of defense. All flights were forbidden over the area of Dimona. Golda Me'ir issued orders to attack the civilian Libyan plane in savage fashion in 1973 because she was informed that the aircraft was circling over the Dimona area when it had lost its way. Israel relied on several factors in its scientific progress in nuclear energy, including:

1. The acquisition of technology, equipment, and raw materials in cooperation with a number of states, including France and the United States.
2. The gathering of information by illegal means through Jewish scientists specializing in energy sciences in America and Europe.
3. The use of the Mosad in the theft of plans and raw materials needed by Israel.
4. Domestic scientific capabilities and research centers in Israel.

The American CIA submitted a secret report to the Congress in 1974 in which certain information was circulated. This report said: "Israel has actually produced nuclear weapons in view of its possession of large quantities of enriched uranium. It has also built transport and launch systems capable of carrying nuclear warheads. The Agency believes that Israel will use these weapons if its existence is threatened."

It is established fact that in 1979 an American spy satellite detected a nuclear explosion above the Indian Ocean. This was the result of a test conducted by Israel in cooperation with the racist government of South Africa.

When Mr Richard Allen, national security advisor during President Reagan's first administration, visited me in the People's Assembly, I asked him what would happen because of Israel's ownership of nuclear weapons. He answered that the nuclear genie had escaped from the bottle, and that there were a number of states that either owned nuclear weapons or could manufacture them whenever they wanted, such as Brazil, among others.

This does not mean that I have reviewed the nuclear capability of Israel so that Egypt will join the nuclear club. Rather, I reemphasize the belief that it is not within our power to bargain over the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes within the framework of our stated policy and program.

And now, what statements do you deny?

If you are ignorant of all of this, that is a problem.

But if you know and object, that is a bigger misfortune and some discussion remains.

8591

CSO: 5100/4604

EGYPT

ELECTION CRITICISM TERMED MINORITY TYRANNY

Cairo MAYU in Arabic 7 Jan 85 pp 1, 3

[Editorial by Sabri Abu al-Majid: "Dictatorship by the Minority and the Closed Road"]

[Text] After Hasan Abu Basha, former minister of local government and minister of interior, finished his satisfactory, adequate and indeed convincing reply to the questioning of the respected deputies Ibrahim Shukri and Mumtaz Nassar with regard to the May 1984 elections, and after the National Assembly, by an overwhelming majority, declared its confidence in these elections, I sincerely and justly believed that the parliamentary minority representing the Socialist Labor Party and the Wafdists or those claiming to be Wafdists would bow to the opinion of the majority, and everyone would devote himself to the problems of the present and the future and work to move the democratic process forward.

However, as became evident, I was mistaken in my belief. It became clear from the reply of both Ibrahim Shukri and Mumtaz Nassar and comments of the newspapers belonging to Labor and to the currency traders, or the currency and suitcase traders, so certain people do not become angry, that there is a scheme to rivet Egyptian public opinion on this subject. It is strange and even suspicious that the Wafdists and those claiming to be Wafdist deputies lashed out viciously against their colleague, Ahmad Fakhri Qandil, who declared it clearly and plainly, satisfying his courageous, patriotic conscience. He refused to keep evidence secret and thereby commit a sin, as some of his colleagues did. Also, some Wafdists or those claiming to be Wafdist deputies, in the newspaper of the currency and suitcase traders and in the factories producing lies and entertainment, brought up other, new matters which had never been raised before or during debate of the hearing which they continued for nearly 6 months. During that time, they mobilized all their forces and capabilities, and they are considerable, in preparation. These new questions which they raised had no basis in truth, and the judiciary had already voiced its opinion on them.

Stranger and more suspicious yet, if I may use this expression, is the fact that our colleague AL-AHALI when it was dealing with the problem of the elections, committed a terrible error. It took the judiciary head on in this matter, whereas the nation's higher interest required that the judiciary be

removed from the battles of political parties. For the information of our colleague AL-AHALI, the Ministry of Interior is not the one which selects the judges who supervise these elections. It is the Ministry of Justice which selects them. There can be no doubt whatsoever about the inviolability of any Egyptian judge. Since the beginning of its modern rebirth, Egypt has been proud of this judiciary, the pride and glory of Egypt. Also, we wish that in its editorials, our colleague AL-AHALI had not used the terms "embezzlement" and "gangsterism" when discussing a state authority, the National Assembly. The constitution and laws safeguard both the dignity and respect of this Assembly. Also, for the information of our colleague AL-AHALI, I, as editor-in-chief of MAYU, have not asked for support from the National Democratic Party, even if it is not a disgrace for a party newspaper to ask for support from the party for which it speaks. All party newspapers do this, including AL-AHALI, everywhere in the world. Fortunately, MAYU, through readers' confidence and interest in it, has never needed the support of the party or government. MAYU makes profits which no other party newspaper makes, even though it obtains fewer government and public-sector ads than the opposition press.

I return to the discussion of the elections and the questioning of the elections. I am going to choose one incident. The newspaper of the currency and suitcase traders exaggerated greatly in discussing this incident. It is the alleged occurrence of fraudulent acts in the two districts of al-Kab and Umm Khalaf. In an official memorandum which says that after the voting had ended, candidates of the Wafd Party in Port Said submitted an appeal to the judge supervising the East Division Committee, contesting the results in Boxes 30, 31 and 32 in the districts of al-Kab and Umm Khalaf. The judge examined the appeal contesting the results and questioned the committee chairmen. He ascertained that the voting process had been fair and brought the appeal to the justice who is head of the Port Said General Committee. He re-examined the appeal in the presence of the judiciary, the four division committee chairmen, and the reserve judge who at the time was in the office of the justice who is chairman of the General Committee. Everyone decided to reject the appeal and rely on the results of the examination of these committees.

On 29 May 1984 lawyers Salim Isma'il al-Hadidi, Muhammad Hiraz and Ahmad Taha Karawiyah, members of the Wafd Party, filed a complaint with the general counsel in Port Said. The office of the district attorney assumed responsibility for investigating this complaint. It questioned the three lawyers who submitted the appeal, as well as the Wafd Party candidate. It also questioned all the chairmen of committees 30, 31 and 32 and the party delegates in these committees about information regarding the content of the complaint made by members of the Wafd Party. Their statements did not contain any information which indicated that any of the acts which appeared in the complaint had actually occurred. Col 'Amr Amin al-Sa'idi was questioned to obtain information, and he denied that these acts had occurred. No charges were made against him, and the investigation was suspended, with the knowledge of the office of the district attorney, after the matter had been submitted to the district attorney.



Any fair-minded, just person following all the investigations conducted with regard to the complaints of these Wafdists and seeing that the office of the district attorney, which has jurisdiction, suspended investigation on the complaints after they were submitted to the district attorney, will be convinced that the allegations of the newspaper of the currency and suitcase traders have no basis in truth at all.

It is strange and suspicious that the Wafdists and those claiming to be Wafdists who fill the world with outcries and roars about the elections which brought them to the National Assembly have not mentioned the fact that in these elections they committed crimes, even if they supposedly are always the victims of crime. I have evidence of numerous complaints filed by certain National Party candidates and their representatives and deputies with the responsible authorities. They include many crimes committed by Wafdists or those claiming to be Wafdists in these elections. I will give some examples of them, not the entire list. "Case No 891, misdemeanors in the subdivision of Hawsh 'Isa, 1984. Report of Police Sgt Ahmad Ibrahim Hiraz, assigned to guard Committee No 10 at the Hawsh 'Isa preparatory school, on the assault by Muhammad Ahmad Abu al-Sa'd, Wafd Party candidate, with insults, verbal abuse and armed threat against both him and the regular watchman 'Abd-al-Rusul 'Ali Muhammad. The matter was submitted to the judge who is chairman of the General Committee, and he decided to notify the office of the district attorney."

Another example which proves what we are saying about the Wafdists or those claiming to be Wafdists having been the criminals, not the victims of crime, in the 1984 elections is the following: On 14 May 1984 'Abd-al-Salam Muhammad Musa, chief of the telephone division in Ityay al-Barud and member of the local council of the governorate in the subdivision, reported that he was meeting with National Party leaders in the village of Nikla al-'Inab. Everyone was surprised when Muhammad 'Abd-al-Mun'im Riyadh Dabus, candidate of the New Wafd Party, burst into the meeting, along with a number of citizens, directed a verbal attack at them and threatened to open fire on them if they did not leave the village. After a fist fight, supporters of the National Party left the village in fear of their lives. Official Report No 14/21 has clearly stated the case of the subdivision of Ityay al-Barud. I will not go on citing examples condemning the Wafdists or those claiming to be Wafdists, because they are numerous, more numerous than the concerns of the author of these lines.

The question I want to ask leaders of the New Wafd Party who constantly have discussed and are discussing errors occurring in the May 1984 elections is this: "What is your opinion regarding the testimony of Professor 'Umar al-Talmasani?" He is not from the National Party, but the extreme opposition to the National Party, as seen in his books, articles and speeches. Consequently, his testimony on the elections cannot be described as being biased toward the National Democratic Party. The magazine AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI is published in Paris, and for one's information, it does not speak in the name of the National Democratic Party. In its issue of 15 June 1984, No 383, Professor and Shaykh 'Umar al-Talmasani was asked how he assessed the recent elections. He replied, "I do not say as others do, that the elections were

falsified, only for the winners to become the losers. There are those who say that they saw falsification. They saw it with their own eyes. I was out all day doing my duty. I did not see any falsification. The Prophet asked a man to bear witness. He led him by the hand outside the mosque, pointed to the sun and said, 'Bear witness to such as this.' On this basis I vow that I saw no falsification at all in the recent elections." I am satisfied with the testimony of Professor and Shaykh 'Umar al-Talmasani. It is a testimony of truth from a man of truth. All I fear is that Fu'ad Pasha will lash out at his friend al-Talmasani and isolate him from the New Wafd on paper, as his brother Yasin Siraj-al-Din was isolated previously, also on paper.

A brief word to the opposition leaders in Egypt. Do not join forces. Do not try to impose a dictatorship of the minority on the majority. Such an attempt will lead inevitably to a closed road which we wish neither on you nor on others.

7811

CSO: 4504/181

EGYPT

VETERAN WRITER COMPLAINS OF CURRENT JOURNALISTIC TORPOR

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 18 Feb 85 pp 18-19

[Interview with Mustafa Amin by Sana' Qabil: "The Press Has Turned from a Royal Highness to a Curteous Maiden"]

[Text] Her poor royal highness -- always in the defendants' dock!

If she expresses approval of an accomplishment or decree the government has issued, they accuse her of flattery and hypocrisy and of having sold her integrity. If she is critical of a situation that is wrong, curses rain down on her head, on the charge that she has misused the freedom made available to her to publish dirty linen before relatives and strangers, so that she has become afflicted with leanness and allergy!

Mustafa Amin is one of the major knights of the press. He has loved it a great deal, and it has also pained him a great deal. He is constantly raising the watchword "freedom of the press and journalists," the watchword around which discussion has been stirred up, from the most ordinary man on the street to senior officials.

I asked Mustafa Amin, "What do you mean by freedom of the press?"

He replied, "It is the freedom of all the people, in the sense that if the country is unanimous about an opinion, and a single citizen opposes it, he has the right to publish his opinion. In brief, the freedom of the press is the freedom of the journalist not to be imprisoned or to lose his job, or to have his family dispossessed in the face of his opinion."

How can that be achieved?

Mustafa Amin answered, "By abrogating the law on the press which was set out by people who do not know the nature of journalistic work and the task of the press. For example, they imagine that the existence of a private press is a necessity for issuing a new journal. That might have been true 40 years ago, but now the situation is different all over the world. THE GUARDIAN, one of the greatest newspapers in Britain, has no press, and is published at a newspaper which competes with it, THE TIMES. The same with the magazine

READER'S DIGEST, which has a circulation of 24 million copies, and also the famous TIME magazine. This helps the newspaper avoid the dilemma of workers' strikes which lead to suspension of the newspaper's issuance, so that consequently it is not compelled, while it is defending itself, to attack the workers!

"They also imagine that the capital required for issuing a weekly magazine must not be less than 150,000 pounds, or 250,000 pounds for a daily paper, although Mrs Rose al-Yusuf issued her magazine with a capital of just 5 pounds. The purpose of the quarter million pound business is to make people incapable of issuing papers!

"The stipulation in the law is incomprehensible. The government inherits a 'paper' in the event its owners die, and of course there is no one who will put his money into a project which the government, and not his children, will inherit after he dies -- it would be better for him to open a grocery shop, not issue a paper!

"Then we come to the editor in chief. The government appoints him, chooses, for the most part, people who are loyal, polite and well mannered, and does not impose the condition of absolute competence. They in turn become responsible to it, not to public opinion.

"Today we have the journalism of the telephone, or the journalism of the request for permission, that is, receiving orders and instructions and making requests for permission by telephone before articles are published. Now the government knows everything in a journal before it is published. I can mention, as an example, that an editor prepared an item of news and recommended that it be published with the picture of the minister. The editorial secretary told him that the picture had previously been published the day before and there was no need to have it with the item. After a quarter of an hour, exactly, the minister asked for the editorial secretary and asked him, 'Why don't you want to publish my picture?'

"This is contrary to what we were used to, when we would surprise the government with the things we wrote, were anxious that they not leak out to it, and would block its attempts to steal the 'galley's' so that it would not know what we were hiding for it. The situation changed totally after the nationalization of the press; whereas I had had a correspondent in every ministry, each minister came to have a correspondent in my newspaper. The ministers know my news, and I do not know the news of their ministries. The newspapers have come to rely on bulletins.

"The proper situation is when the journalist has the right to question the minister, in the name of the people, and the minister's duty is to answer. The journalist does not beg for news. The people have the right to know.

"With respect to the board of directors, that must be elected by the workers and the editors, and then after it is formed it must elect the chairman of the board and the editor in chief. Since it is in the interests of the editors for their newspaper to be a success, they will choose 'the fittest' to make the magazine a success."

[Question] Do you mean that journalists are totally free?

[Answer] Of course. A journalist is free to write what he wants. The penal code is sufficient to punish a journalist who violates the law or does violence to the truth.

[Question] Even with respect to national issues?

Mustafa Amin replied, "The talk about national issues is a form of hollow nonsense. In my opinion that is concerned with only one thing, the security and independence of the nation. That is, a journalist may not write an invitation to Israel to occupy Egypt. Here we would take him to the ordinary judiciary to find him guilty of treason. Aside from that, however, it is my right to differ over any opinion the government or others express. Let us not forget that there is a difference over religions. In the days of our lord Muhammad, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, if he stated an opinion, and the companions would ask him 'Is that your statement or that of the great sublime creator,' he would answer them 'It is his opinion,' and they would say 'Then let us debate it.'

"If a citizen has the right to debate a prophet, doesn't he have the right to debate the prime minister or any minister?

[Question] Does the journalist have the right to deal with the private lives of public figures?

[Answer] The wives of public men are involved with them, and when a minister assumes charge of a ministry, he must stop his relatives and his family from speculating in the stock exchange and from trade. We have a constitutional article which stipulates that ministers are not to take part in public and government bids and are not to rent or buy land from the government or sell to it. This means that they should not appoint their relatives or satisfy their interests, because government does not mean bestowing an honor or a benefit on them, but rather is an example and a sacrifice. Otherwise, they would depart from the framework of the policy which requires that relatives be kept distant from suspicion and enter into the framework of "'Ali Baba and the 40 thieves!'"

[Question] Mr Mustafa, haven't you stood against the freedom of a journalist who expressed an opinion opposed to you?

[Answer] No. I have always stood alongside the freedom of any journalist, even the Communist journalists with whom I differ in opinion!

[Question] Is the freedom of the journalist given, or does he acquire it?

Mustafa Amin answered, "Freedom is taken and not given, and the journalist must know that he faces imprisonment."

Finally, I asked the great writer, "If you were a head of the Journalists' Union, what would you offer them?"

Mustafa Amin said, "It is not reasonable that journalists should ask the union head for housing, raises and pensions. If I were a union head I would demand that respect be restored to the press."

[Question] What do you mean?

[Answer] The press was a royal highness, and it has become a lady of grace, then descended to the rank of a curteous maiden!

11887

CSO: 4504/241

LIBYA

ARABIC MAGAZINE NOTES U.S. 'BAD TASTE' DURING FAHD VISIT

LD061346 Tripoli JANA in English 0951 GMT 6 Mar 85

[Text] Tripoli, 13 Jumada Thani, 6 March, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY--AL-TADAMUN magazine in a recent issue in London reported that a general unease prevailed within Saudi circles during the recent visit of King Fahd to Washington. This is a result of a series of undisciplined behaviour from President Reagan.

The magazine said that among the reasons for this unease was the departure of President Reagan from the U.S. capital 2 days prior to the conclusion of King Fahd's visit. This was considered a misbehaviour for rather it reflects a misconduct. [sentence as received] Apart from that, it was expected that George Bush, the U.S. vice president would have headed the reception committee, welcoming King Fahd at the airport. What happened was, that George Shultz, the U.S. state secretary was at his, and the accompanying delegation's reception.

The whole of this unease is undoubtedly due to and reflects an unacceptable American arrogance and pride. It also can be taken as an insult to an Arab king and shows bad taste and impoliteness in dealing with guests.

By that, the U.S. Government reflected the political moralities uncommon in relations between states. It worked in a line contrary to the line of hospitality and welfare of guests. It also showed that its disrespect is shown even to those who deal with it.

According to the simplest protocols, Washington's politicians should have showed appreciation for this visit, in return [as received] they only showed their arrogance.

Taking that into consideration, the Saudi unease was appropriate. We as Arabs have been known historically and traditionally for our respect of hospitality traditions and honour our visitors contrary to these arrogants.

CSO: 4500/60

25 March 1985

## LIBYA

## DANISH FIRM OVERSEES LIBYAN AGRICULTURAL PROJECT

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE SONDA in Danish 10 Feb 85 p 9

[Article by Per Thygesen Poulsen: "Directing Billion Kroner Orders in Africa"]

[Text] The contracting firm of Hojgaard & Schultz is an expert at difficult tasks. At the moment, they are involved through the consortium, Danfarm Contractors, in an agricultural project in Libya which is worth more than 1.5 billion kroner. And they know something about how one tackles problems which otherwise could transform such projects into nightmares.

Since the first contract was signed on 5 May 1981 in Tripoli, 95 percent of the construction project worth 1.2 billion kroner is completed in Libya. The next phase is the operation over the next five years which the Danish consortium, Danfarm Contractors, also is to undertake. On 11 December 1984, the contract was expanded for deliveries for operation of the project. The main contract for the overall project amounts to not less than \$175 million, or approximately 1.5 billion Danish kroner.

This is a lot of money to have at stake in Africa, where one has seen experienced contracting firms loose millions during political unrest and where Flexplan at the moment is fighting for its life on a billion-kroner project in Nigeria involving five hospitals. But Hojgaard & Schultz, which together with Atlas-Danmark, makes up Danfarm Contractors, does not have shaking hands when it signs billion kroner contracts of this type.

"Hojgaard & Schultz has worked on many large projects in foreign countries for many years. We know the problems and have built up an organization which is accustomed to handling exactly this type of task," explains Jorgen Spliid, who is the director of Danfarm Contractors and the head of Hojgaard & Schultz' international division.

## Backing is Critical

All too many firms have experience as contractors here at home and are capable of selling in order to bring in orders. But even though they can employ capable people to undertake the task at the site, they lack backing



from the mother organization. It is not enough that the individual is capable; it is the overall organization which must be able to manage the undertaking.

An undertaking such as the Libyan agricultural project requires much more than experience in solving construction tasks. That is only the first phase which is nearing its end after three years of work. This involved drilling for water, construction of roads and establishment of farms for production of chickens for slaughter, stalls for livestock, a slaughter house and a dairy, in addition to common facilities such as for laboratories, schools, administration and a village for personnel.

But the second phase consists of the operation during the first five years. It is Danfarm Contractors' responsibility to deliver livestock, chickens, food and spare parts, and to run the operation. There are to be 5.5 million chickens raised and deep-frozen annually. Livestock numbering 1,300, of which about 600 are milk cows, are to produce 3 million liters of milk annually, which are to be processed at the dairy and sold. Some of the food for the cows is to be grown on 210 hectares of land included in the project.

During the course of the spring, the first shipment of chickens, livestock and spare parts is to be shipped under the contract--for the first year, for 70 million kroner and hopefully for about a half-billion kroner in the aggregate over five years. This is to occur in cooperation with the Danish Agricultural Heavy Equipment Company.

And finally, the contract also provides that Danfarm Contractors is to select and train Libyan co-workers in order that at the end of the five years, they will be able to take over the responsibility for continued operation.

#### Direction of Integrated Projects

It is clear that neither Hojgaard & Schultz nor Atlas Danmark has access in advance to experts in everything from feeding of chickens to training laboratory assistants. These types of experts are found for each individual task from many different sources and a whole series of Danish companies act as subcontractors, each with its own special expertise.

"That which is our expertise is experience in directing an integrated project," states Jorgen Spliid.

"The majority of experts are accustomed to producing and working under familiar conditions. It is our task to take the risk away from the suppliers in order that they can work in a familiar environment. It is we who take the risk, and ensure everything from when we start with a bare field to ensuring that there is food and a place to live to ensuring compliance with import regulations."

Another aspect of Hojgaard & Schultz' knowledge involves risk evaluation. Hojgaard & Schultz has a capital base of 300 million kroner, which is a good backbone as far as concerns undertaking its own portion of the economic risk over and above that which is covered by insurance arrangements and export credits.

The scope of the risk under the worst possible circumstances is calculated for each phase of the project. No work is undertaken when the greatest possible risk would threaten the overall existence of the firm. In addition, there is a planning of the overall work in order to ensure that the worst possible risks cannot occur at the same time for the different projects.

#### From Analysis to Frozen Chickens

It is Libya's goal to become self-sufficient. Danish agriculture has demonstrated its capability and Libya therefore has wanted help in getting Danish agricultural methods implemented in practice. When they requested a "feasibility study," it was not only Hojgaard & Schultz and Atlas Danmark who were in the picture, but also a series of other companies as well, and not the least, Danish agriculture, which through Danago Adviser, created the background for the project.

But it came down to these two who had sufficient economic strength to give the necessary guarantees and meet the liquidity requirements during the implementation of the work. They formed Danfarm Contractors, while about 100 other firms and institutions are subcontractors, of which 90 percent are Danish.

Everything has gone according to plan up to now. Gradually, Danfarm's tasks are shifting from being a construction undertaking to being a management undertaking. Wadi al-Hirah will not be the name only of the agricultural project, which is located 70 kilometers south of Tripoli. It will also be the name on a series of name-brand goods, chicken, milk, yogurt, and other things. These items not only must be produced, but distributed and sold as well.

Right now, one is in the middle of the wading place. On 1 February, the first of the 75 Danish workers left to start their leadership tasks in connection with the operation. Agreements must be made with sales places, and maybe it will be necessary to deliver deep freezers to dealers, and workers must be trained. The project's engineering-related leaders are being gradually replaced by business- and agriculturally-trained leaders.

And so they are freed to go elsewhere to the next big project somewhere else in the world.

12578

CSO: 3613/130

LIBYA

BRIEFS

CUBAN MINISTER ARRIVES--Tripoli, Jumada Thani 11, 4 March, JAMAHIRYAH NEWS AGENCY--Mr Levi Farah, the minister with responsibility for overseas construction in the Cuban Republic arrived in Tripoli this afternoon to attend the 20th Tripoli International Fair. [Text] [Tripoli JANA in English 1905 GMT 4 Mar 85 LD]

SECRETARY MEETS DELEGATION--Tripoli, 14 Jumada Thani, 4 March, JAMAHIRYAH NEWS AGENCY--The secretary of the people's committees of the GPC Secretariat met yesterday morning with delegations representing Algeria, headed by Brother Sadiq, deputy chairman of the National People's Assembly's foreign affairs committees; Salah Kazim al-Khayr, secretary of the Lebanese Parliament; Manfred Klaus, Democratic Germany's deputy chairman of the Education Committee and the chairman of the Libyan Arab-German Friendship Committee who all took part in the Libyan Arab people's celebrations. Meetings focused on bilateral relations between the Jamahiriya and Algeria, Lebanon and Democratic Germany as well as means to promote them. [Text] [Tripoli JANA in English 1422 GMT 4 Mar 85 LD]

CSO: 4500/60

IRAQ

MOSCOW WEEKLY VIEWS SITUATION IN IRAQ

PM241031 Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 4, 1985 (signed to Press 17 Jan)  
pp 12-13

[Yuriy Zinin, Gennadiy Musaelyan Report: "Iraq--Ancient and Modern"--first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] Iraq--a state with an ancient and modern history rich in remarkable events--has in recent decades achieved notable successes in the development of the national economy and the creation of a developed industrial base. The Soviet Union has given and continues to give Iraq considerable help in this respect. Bilateral Soviet-Iraqi relations have a history many years long and are developing successfully in many spheres. The 1972 treaty on friendship and cooperation acts as their reliable basis.

The protracted fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq has seriously retarded the resolution of urgent social and economic tasks and become a heavy burden on the shoulders of the working people and on the country's economy.

Iraq today, the people who take pride in their country's history and are building its future, and their difficulties and achievements are described in this reportage.

Baghdad, Moscow--The bloody war between Iran and Iraq is now in its 5th year. The seeds of discord which it has caused are spreading far beyond those two countries, jeopardizing security in the region and complicating the situation in the Arab world and in the nonaligned movement.

In Baghdad, when we studied materials in the Western press devoted to this fratricidal war, two trends emerged clearly. Some publications represent the conflict as a pathological antagonism between the Iranian and Iraqi peoples, as if they were discussing the warring Veronese families of Montague and Capulet! On reading other mass news publications, like, for instance, the American magazines TIME and NEWSWEEK, we could not escape the impression that they are waiting like vultures for a new exacerbation of the conflict: Their pages contain so many veiled inflammatory calls for a "crushing military offensive." The authors of the articles, adopting the guise of impartial analysts, examine each side's military potential, weigh up their potential, and calculate the number of dead and the quantity of losses in the future

with cynical exactitude, as if they were calculating the number of geese shot during a successful hunt....

What gives rise to this approach? The answer is simple if you realize whom this conflict benefits. On the threadbare pretext of the "Soviet threat," the United States is using the war in order to strengthen and extend its own positions in the region (this is indicated by the inclusion of both Iraq and Iran in the sphere of operation of Centcom--the U.S. "central command"? At the same time Washington regards it as a factor distracting the Arab peoples from problems connected with the failure to settle the Near East conflict. Even in the opinion of the conservative British newspaper THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, "the expansion of the Iran-Iraq conflict will deepen the division of the Arab world and give Israel the opportunity for a new invasion."

All this was why one of our interviewees, an Iraqi journalist, compared U.S. policy to the actions of the unusual "firemen" in the well-known American writer Ray Bradbury's novel "Fahrenheit 451." The task of these "fire fighters" was...to start fires!

Enormous material and cultural assets--the fruits of many generations' labor--have already perished in the Iran-Iraq conflagration. Billions of dollars have been and are being thrown away on destruction, instead of being used to benefit people. Finally, the war has cost the lives of more than 200,000 people (the British magazine THE ECONOMIST even mentions a figure of half a million).

It is already some weeks since we left Iraq, but it is still difficult to expel the terrible face of that war from our memories. Reedy flats extend for many kilometers on both sides of the state border between Iran and Iraq. It was here, last year, that fierce fighting raged, into which the Iranian command sent not the regular army, but almost completely untrained volunteers, some of whom were 14 or 15 years old. The result was horrifying: the marshes became a collective grave for thousands of Iranian youths.

Wandering through the narrow streets of ancient Baghdad, many times we saw black sheets hanging from the houses. They carry in white paint a quotation from the Koran and a brief announcement, where only the name, date and place varies: "Husayn Fadl lived in this house. On 21 October he died at Sayf Sa'd for the motherland's freedom...."

The sad consequences of the Iran-Iraq bloodshed show convincingly that there is not and cannot be a military solution to this conflict. Peace can be secured only by political means, through an agreement at the conference table. And the sooner this happens, the better it will be both for the countries involved in the war and for the genuine independence of all the Persian Gulf states.

During the conversations in Baghdad with officials--L. N. Jasim, minister of information, and Hamid Sa'id and Sami Hamid, chief editors of the two leading newspapers, AL-THAWRAH and AL-JUMHURIYAH--we kept hearing about Iraq's readiness to move toward a peaceful settlement of the conflict, given good will on the part of Tehran.

Just as soil parched by the hot sun thirsts for moisture, so the peoples of Iran and Iraq yearn for the long-awaited peace to come to their war-scorched land.

"The war runs counter to our socioeconomic development," Latif Nusayyif Jasim told us. "Six days after the start of the war we obeyed the appeal in the UN resolution for a cease-fire, and later we repeatedly proposed to Tehran that the fratricidal conflict be ended. But Iran has not deigned to reply to a single one of these proposals. As a result the bloodshed is now in its 5th year, and is leading to nothing but destruction. There is and can be no military solution. There is now a growing awareness in the world of the need to put an end to this war. The Soviet Union, our tried and tested friend and ally, marches in the vanguard of the progressive forces which call for a peaceful solution to the conflict. We are deeply grateful to the USSR for its principled, consistent stance. Our relations have been tested by time and are not subject to any short-term pressures or propagandist elements. The Western press is currently zealously fanning conjectures about the restoration of diplomatic relations between Iraq and the United States. I wish to stress that this is an act of normalization of state relations. But it does not mean any rapprochement or coincidence in the viewpoints of Washington and Baghdad."

Throughout the years since the victory of the 1968 July revolution in Iraq, people in the Soviet Union have watched with good will and the interest of true friends to see how the country has developed along the path of strengthening economic and political independence. Not only watched, but sided firmly with the country and with the other Arab states in their struggle against Israel's expansionist policy and imperialism's intrigues. The USSR was among those who invariably came to Iraq's assistance when it found itself in difficulties. That was the case when its leadership was fighting to carry out the nationalization of foreign oil companies and struggling against the imperialist states' economic blockade.

The USSR's trade and economic ties with Iraq have a history of more than one-fourth of a century. In 1984 the 25th anniversary of the first agreement on economic and technical cooperation between the two countries was marked. The signing of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation in 1972 was a logical development.

Cooperation between the USSR and Iraq is strengthening and widening. In 1983-1984 new contracts were signed providing for our country's participation in the construction of a number of projects. They include, in particular, the construction of a heat and electric power station with a capacity of 1.4 million kilowatts and a hydroengineering complex with a capacity of 300,000-400,000 kilowatts.

Our countries' specialists have been successfully cooperating for many years in the development of Iraq's oil industry. Thus in northern Rumaylah, which has become the symbol of this sector of the economy, a major oilfield with a total output of 42 million metric tons of oil a year has been created with the help of Soviet experts. Cooperation in the sphere of training national cadres has also borne considerable fruit. Our country has trained more than 50,000 Iraqi workers, technicians, engineers and other specialists.

As for the significance of the industrial enterprises and other projects which have been built with the USSR's assistance, it should be noted that they account for 20 percent of oil extraction capacities, more than 45 percent of the electricity generated, and around 10 percent of the total cement production. Irrigation and water resources projects make it possible to irrigate an additional 600,000-650,000 hectares of land. The length of railroad lines has been increased by 50 percent.

The course of further developing friendly relations was reinforced during the official visit to the USSR in April 1984 of T. Y. Ramadan, first deputy prime minister of Iraq, and his talks with N. A. Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. It was noted that the strengthening of cooperation between the two countries in various spheres meets the interests of the Soviet and Iraqi peoples.

CSO: 4400/94

IRAQ

KURDS, COMMUNISTS, MUSLIMS UNITING IN OPPOSITION

LD241132 London THE OBSERVER in English 24 Feb 85 p 17

[Article by Patrick Seale under the rubric "Middle East" and headlined "Kurdish Enemies Test the Nerve of Saddam"]

[Excerpts] Just as President Saddam Husayn of Iraq appears to have regained the military initiative against Iran, he is threatened by a constellation of internal enemies more united than ever.

Kurds, communists, secular nationalists and Muslim fundamentalists, sharing a hatred for the Iraqi leader, are for the first time forging a united opposition front.

All face the fact that the Iraq-Iran war, now in its 5th year, is unlikely to topple their enemy and that an internal front must therefore be opened as well.

No doubt to head off this mushrooming threat, Saddam on 11 February decreed an amnesty for his political opponents--an offer which was scornfully rejected last week by the underground Islamic Dawa party, making its European debut at a press conference in London.

Two new factors make the threat of common opposition action credible. First, the front now has a territorial springboard for military action, and second, it appears to have won support--and a promise of funds and weapons--from Syria and Libya as well as Iran.

Details of the opposition's strategy were revealed in London by spokesmen for the Dawa and the Kurdish Democratic Party [KDP].

The KDP led by Masud Barzani, is the main Kurdish fighting force, with a guerrilla army of some 10,000 Peshmergas backed by a further 20,000 armed villagers. Over the last 2 years it has won virtual control of a band of northern Iraq some 20-30 miles deep, which hugs the Turkish frontier from Syria to Iran.

On this terrain, the KDP has already brought the Iraqi Communist Party into a fighting alliance. Now it has thrown open its bases to guerrillas of the



Dawa and of a number of Arab nationalist grouping opposed to Saddam Husayn.

From its mountain stronghold, the KDP and its allies are posed to threaten some of Iraq's most vital targets, notably the overland route to Turkey and the oil pipeline, Iraq's only oil outlet. The Peshmergas, now in a position to field units of up to 1,000 men, could overrun sizeable towns on the fringe of their 'liberated area.'

Until now, militant opposition to Saddam has been dispersed in three centres: the Kurds and communists in northern Iraq, the Dawa and other Islamic groups in Tehran, and a Syrian-backed front in Damascus combining Baathists, nationalists and another Kurdish organisation, Jalal Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan [PUK]. The PUK tried to negotiate a deal but last week broke off the talks and resumed armed operations. Masud Barzani's KDP has now taken the lead in trying to bring together these widely dispersed forces and their respective backers.

The moves toward closer cooperation by Saddam's external and internal enemies reveal some significant changes in attitude. Iran is, perhaps reluctantly, coming round to the view that Iraq is not ripe for Islamic revolution, and that the Muslims must therefore join forces with Saddam's secular opponents. It represents a considerable retreat from the Ayatollah's early plans for an Islamic uprising in Iraq.

The Kurds in turn have come to realise that they cannot hope for Arab or Iranian support if they campaign for Kurdish national rights alone. So they too have submerged their cause into that of an Iraq-wide opposition struggle.

But Saddam Husayn is himself not without friends. He is being armed by both East and West for the struggle against Iran and, in his fight against the Kurds, he has secured a powerful ally in Turkey.

Turkey has an interest in the security of the Iraqi oil pipeline which crosses its territory and from which it derives oil and revenue. More importantly, its own eight million kurds are showing signs of restiveness.

A Turkish-Iraqi agreement against the Kurds is believed to give Turkish troops the right to operate up to 20 miles inside Iraq--just the zone from which KDP and its allies hope to open their second front.

CSO: 4400/94

ISRAEL

PRC AWARDS CONTRACT TO RETROFIT, UPGRADE ARMORED VEHICLES

Bonn DIE WELT in German 12 Feb 85 p 10

[Text] According to the Israeli press agency JTA, that country's armaments industry has been awarded a contract by the PRC to upgrade and refit some 9,000 Chinese armored vehicles. The recently concluded agreement amounts to some several hundred million dollars. Following conclusion of the deal, Peking broke off all negotiations for the purchase of a large number of tanks to be built in Argentina under West German license. Israel was awarded the contract because of that country's arms industry's substantial experience with overhauling and combat capability enhancement of Soviet tanks captured from Arab armies during recent conflicts.

CSO: 4620/26

JORDAN

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S PARTY SECRETARY INTERVIEWED

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 25 Dec 84 p 8

/Interview with Abu 'Isa, Revolutionary People's Party secretary, by 'Ali Al-Siwan: "Abu 'Isa, Secretary of the Jordanian People's Revolutionary Party, Tells TISHRIN: 'Arafat's Alliance With Husayn Is Like Standing in The Trenches With Our Zionist Enemy"; date and place not specified

/Text "No" to peace with the Zionist entity; this "no" is prescribed by continuing developments in the area, since "yes" has no future. The fate of the two most famous traitors in the modern history of the region, King 'Abdallah and Anwar al-Sadat, serves a word to the wise.

In this revolutionary spirit, fiery and dreaming at the same time (the revolutionary has the right to dream), comrade Abu 'Isa, secretary of the Jordanian People's Revolutionary Party and member of the National Front in Jordan, describes the signs of the dead end street that the alliance between King Husayn and Yasir 'Arafat faces, as well as their rushing into a settlement and Arabization of Camp David.

The following is TISHRIN's survey of the thoughts of Abu 'Isa on the current situation and visions of the future:

/Question Where do your efforts in Jordan fit within the overall pan-Arab efforts such as the struggle against the Zionist plan?

/Answer First of all we must point out that our party, the Jordanian People's Revolutionary Party, is a branch of the Socialist Labor Party in Jordan. This party is historically an extension of the Arab nationalist movement. By this I mean the movement of Arab nationalists that has evolved intellectually and progressively. We are basically a pan-Arab party working to share in the Arab nationalist struggle through our work within the party.

We consider any struggle against the nationalist, or class, enemy in any Arab country to be sharing in the nationalist struggle. The Jordanian arena has been more concerned than many other Arab countries with working for the Palestinian cause because of the pan-Arab ties and historical relations between the Jordanian and the Palestinian, and because Jordan has served as depth for Palestine, both geographically and in terms of its people. For this reason, the struggle in Jordan is important from a nationalist standpoint.

Historically, the support of the Jordanian people for the revolutions of the Palestinian people has been a vital reality since 1936, despite the Hashemite regime's plotting in Jordan.

At the 1937 conference to support the Palestinian revolution at that time, al-Qassam's revolution, the Executive Committee Party was the only one which demanded that the armed struggle be announced in more than one country bordering on Palestine in order to lessen the pressure on the Palestinian revolution.

The Executive Committee Party legitimized itself in the struggle in northern Jordan: Jarash, 'Ajlun, etc., from 1937 to 1939, showing how strong were the ties between the Jordanian and the Palestinian in the struggle, despite the national enemy in Palestine and the class enemy in Jordan.

In 1967, after the Zionist entity had occupied all Palestinian soil, a new group of Palestinians came to Jordan and became part of the Jordanian scene. For this reason, the struggle in Jordan is important, whether because of direct concern for these people or on a pan-Arab level. We should resist the fascist, reactionary monarchy, which in its creation and establishment is no different from the Zionist movement, and we should resist the Zionist entity.

#### A Conflict Over Existence, Not Borders

Our positions are based on our viewing the conflict with the Zionist entity as a conflict over existence, not over that portion of land it occupied in 1948 or after that date.

The Zionist entity was created by imperialism as part of the international capitalist system, some parts of which had decided that a weapon was needed with which to wipe out peoples.

The Zionist entity is one of these capitalist weapons used to destroy the Arab nation and to strike at any progressive Arab movement which opposes capitalist interests in our Arab homeland.

This imperialist entity was unacceptable in the Arab world, despite all the claims of the Arab reactionaries, America's Arabs.

In addition to the Zionist entity, imperialism created other entities in the area to carry out the same repressive task assigned to the Zionist entity. The most prominent of these was the Jordanian regime; from 1921 until today, we find that the Jordanian regime has fulfilled this mission: it plotted against Syria in the unity period, as well as before and afterwards. Its role regarding Iraq is well known, as is its role toward the republican revolution in Yemen after 1962 and its intervention on the side of the shah of Iran against the people of Oman.

#### The War Against Iran:

If we look briefly at King Husayn's relations with the Shah of Iran, we find the explanation of his position toward the revolution that overthrew the Shah.

The shah was the object of special concern on the part of America. During his reign, America poured weapons into Iran to a degree greater than that to which it was arming "Israel."

The relationship between the shah's regime and the Jordanian entity was always very warm, and the shah's regime had the same mission as did the Zionist entity. We all remember the role of the bogeyman that the shah used to play in the Gulf, and there was cooperation between the shah and "Israel" on all issues in the region.

When the Iranian revolution triumphed over the shah in 1979, King Husayn mourned for him more than anyone else and was the first to support the unjust war launched by Saddam /Husayn/ against the Iranian revolution. This shows you just how disappointed and frustrated members of the reactionary Arab camp were over the fall of the shah.

When King Husayn, in order to support Saddam's war, appealed for volunteers to form the Yarmuk forces, he ran up against our people's absolute refusal since they knew that the shah, Saddam and the king belonged to the same hostile bloc. For this reason, no one answered the appeal except the regime's mercenaries. This is especially true since our people are aware of the role that Saddam Husayn played in supporting the king against the aspirations of our people and in their confrontations with the king since 1970. To be specific, our people do not think much of the way Saddam belittles people, as when he used to come to Jordan and do like King Sa'ud Ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz did, handing out gifts and watches with his own picture on them.

Our people know quite well who their enemies are and who their friends are. Even the children in the streets of Amman, if you ask them who their enemy is, will tell you the king and "Israel."

/Question/ What means of struggle do you think should be used to end the conflicts with the king's regime?

/Answer/ We should learn from the previous experience of conflicts between our people and the regime as examples and lessons, not only as regards Jordan, but with regard to any revolutionary action in the Arab world.

Our people have never been miserly with their gift of revolution--they have given entire columns of martyrs.

In 1953, after the massacre at Qibyah and during the repression of the demonstrators by the regime, the first form for confrontation was born: the National Front. This was the beginning of organized party activity in Jordan. Despite this repression, our people challenged the regime for its silence on the Zionist massacre in Qibyah.

In 1954, our people gave scores of martyrs to protest the rigging of the general elections by the regime to keep representatives of communist and Ba'th nationalism out of parliament.

In 1955 as a part of frontwide activity, our people showed their opposition to the Baghdad Pact, which they were trying to impose on Jordan. The entire country, cities and villages, was in ferment.

This reminds us of the death of Raja Abu 'Ammashah on the roof of the British embassy in Jerusalem.

#### The Palestinian Resistance Phase:

Following the rise of the Palestinian resistance, Jordanian pan-Arab activity merged with Palestinian pan-Arab activity. We acknowledge that we all had a part in the acceptance of 'Arafat's slogan about noninterference in the internal affairs of Arab countries, which paralyzed the Jordanian pan-Arab movement. This became clear when the regime attacked the Palestinian resistance in September of 1970 and 1971, when our people were unarmed and unprepared. This was what the king had actually wanted from 'Arafat's slogan: Noninterference in internal affairs!

I am not telling any secrets when I say that the 10 years between 1970 and 1980 did not see real clashes between our people and the Jordanian regime. There was only a group of democratic blocs. During the preparatory talks on forming the National Front in Jordan, we stated our party's viewpoint, particularly on going beyond some of the factions' reform positions. We believe that front-based activity must rest on two basic factors in order to be productive and beneficial in toppling the regime:

1. Pursuing the conflict between ourselves and the regime just as we pursue our conflict with the Zionist enemy, since the two, the regime in Jordan and the Zionist enemy, are partners in the same enterprise: suppression of our people and our nation.
2. Recognizing the nature of the class structure of the Jordanian regime and the way it is distributed and defining our tasks accordingly, for without this, political action would be ineffective.

As far as the agent regime in Jordan goes, we believe that the nature of the class structure determines the degree to which upper class conditions will crystallize, just as in any society, upper class conditions crystallize and society is divided into two major classes, the exploiters and the exploited. However, the ranks of the upper class in Jordan are swollen since there is no bourgeois class with an industrial base, but the signs are obvious--there is a banking bourgeoisie with its voice, a commercial bourgeoisie with a voice and a real estate bourgeoisie with influence inside the regime which has expressed itself by imposing more than one law.

On the other hand, there are the lower class forces.

Here we must clarify an important issue, which is that the working class in Jordan is actually small if we take into consideration that what is meant by "working class" is industrial workers--the proletariat--since there is no industrial force or labor groups to penetrate the material base of the government. However, there is a very large group of laborers.

As an example, the most comprehensive figures for the petit bourgeoisie are: a Jordanian labor force of 550,000, with 100,000 in the army, public security and other armed forces and 85,000 government employees, constituting 38 percent of the labor force.

Small land owners form a large part of the labor force, which is natural in backward societies. However, this does not mean that the working class has no force of influence.

In truth, the working class in Jordan and its ideas can take action, have influence and steer revolutionary activity in the country.

For these reasons, we believe that the nature of front-based action in Jordan requires that we see these facts and struggle against them on the basis of an accurate assessment of the nature of the forces which make up the regime in order to be able to counter them effectively. If we do not have a clear idea of the weaknesses and strengths of these forces, the confrontation will be like treading water.

/Question/ How far has your front-based activity gotten since the announcement of the formation of the National Front in Jordan on 29 November 1984?

/Answer/ Our party helped form the National Front in Jordan. Obviously, merely announcing the formation of the Front means going through a lot of arrangements and adopting a group of measures, which is not easy, particularly since there are many different forces involved which had to agree on a bottom line, the political position. These forces reached an agreement when they adopted the policy that what we are opposing inside Jordan is not only the regime, but also its ally, the Palestinian right.

We consider this Palestinian right to be part of the counterrevolution inside Jordan, whose regime has become our national enemy.

The agreement to form the National Front was followed by difficult organizational tasks and arrangements in order to carry out the missions of the National Front.

/Question/ Is your accomplishing the Front's missions conditional upon the Palestinian nationalist forces' overcoming the current crisis in the PLO?

/Answer/ As you know, many of the Palestinian resistance groups belong, with us, to the National Front in Jordan. There are groups that do not belong so far, but the majority of the Palestinian groups belong to the front.

It has been our view from the beginning that the current crisis in the PLO is a crisis within Fatah, a spurious crisis. This crisis was fabricated by the Palestinian right, led by 'Arafat, to carry out its wishes. There are those who have tried to portray the crisis as if it were a crisis in the PLO, also for their own reasons.

There was a chance to settle things, but those who used it turned in into a crisis in the PLO and those who took the easy way out caused the crisis.

We decided to take a stand on the side of the ferment within Fatah, on the side of the Palestinian gun and on the side of continuing to use the gun.

As I said before and will say again, we view the Jordanian regime and the Zionist entity the same way, and we must therefore use the gun to oppose both of them.

/Question/ Let us go back to our question about the chances for success of the 'Arafat-Husayn-Mubarak rush toward a deal with the Zionist entity.

/Answer/ There is no doubt that there were precedents for what Husni Mubarak and 'Arafat have done. The primary goal of these precedents, which began with the plans for a settlement and ended with the 1982 war, was capitulation imposed on the Arab world.

Camp David was one in a series of capitulations, and a grand capitulation to be sure. Its significance lies in the fact that it brought one of the Arab parties to the level of high treason--al-Sadat--and it removed Egypt from the sphere of action and influence. The subsequent goal of Camp David is Arabization, with other Arabs becoming parties to it.

One of the main issues facing the adherents of Camp David was to create a cover for the Camp David accords, and the Palestinian resistance was at the top of the list of such covers.

It was clear that the main phenomenon in the resistance, the rightist, 'Arafatist leadership, had been on its way to becoming this cover in the Arabization of Camp David since 1984.

Of course, the Camp David accords were concluded in 1978, but preparations began in 1973, when al-Sadat tricked Syria and the Soviet Union about the October war.

He actually entered the war. Syria and the Soviet Union did the same. They gave for the sake of liberation and to confront the Zionist enemy, but al-Sadat was working to get things moving. There are documents that refer to 'Arafat's acting immediately after the war to serve as a Palestinian cover for al-Sadat's activity and for the relationship between 'Arafat and al-Sadat in this regard. Then came the 1982 war and the role that 'Arafat played.

Here I would like to clarify a very important point. There was a time when some tried to make people believe that Syria was a part of the settlement and that what al-Sadat said Syria was saying too.

However, when the time for the final decision came in 1977, and it became clear that al-Sadat and his partner 'Arafat were willing to commit treason, ('Arafat was at his side and applauded him in the Egyptian People's Assembly that infamous day of 9 November 1977), Syria's rejection of the idea of a settlement became apparent. Following Syria's rejection, the Muslim Brotherhood and other Syrian reactionaries moved against the country's nationalist position.



Such a situation is obviously full of indications, for if we look carefully into developments in the situation in this vein, we find that a leading party in the Palestinian resistance, Yasir 'Arafat to be specific, played a major role in al-Sadat's action.

Can the adherents of Camp David lure the Palestinians into a settlement? This is the essence of the crisis in Fatah and the reason for the uproar to keep 'Arafat from following in al-Sadat's footsteps.

The Lebanese and Jordanians remain.

The thwarting of the 17 May Lebanese-Israeli agreement was the thwarting of an attempt to bring the Lebanese into the plan of Arabize Camp David.

Will they manage to bring the Jordanians in? We view the question from two aspects:

1. 'Arafat and the king are playing a dangerous game. After progressive Arab forces were able to isolate Camp David in the Arab world and internationally, the two are trying to undo this isolation, as Yasir 'Arafat did at the Islamic Conference.
2. There is now an attempt to undo the isolation of Camp David in the Arab world through a summit conference.

For these reasons, the success or failure of Husayn-'Arafat rests upon the individual element, which can play its role through the struggles of progressive Arab citizens. We, the National Front in Jordan, see ample opportunity to confront this scheming and to arouse our people. However, our people are waiting for bullets, not political statements, to realize their hopes and aspirations.

The most important thing remains: The initiative demands urgency, through meetings and the written and broadcast word as well as bullets.

To show you how powerful are those who rush to capitulate by joining together to plot a peace with the Zionist entity, I would like to stress the fact that the two most prominent traitors to the national cause were King 'Abdallah and Anwar al-Sadat, whose fate is well known. Even if Husayn and 'Arafat manage to carry what they are doing to its conclusion, their fate will be no less than that of al-Sadat and 'Abdallah.

I would like to add one more indication for the near future, which is that if there remains one Arab who says "no," this "no" will rule the day because there is no future in "yes."

9882

CSO: 4404/182

JORDAN

BRIEFS

EXPORTS RISE, IMPORTS FALL--Amman (PETRA)--Jordan's total national exports for 1984 amounted to JD 253 million, an increase of 58 percent over 1983 exports, according to a report issued by the Department of Statistics. The report said that imports of foreign goods amounted to JD 1,049 million in 1984, a decrease of 5 percent compared to 1983 imports. [Text] [Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 12 Feb 85 p 3 JN]

DEAD SEA TOURIST COMPLEX--Amman (PETRA)--A complete touristic complex will be built on the shores of the Dead Sea, according to a source at the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Antiquities. The source said the government's interest in the project is part of attempts to develop the Jordan Valley and to exploit the Dead Sea for tourism and therapeutic treatments. The source added that the complex will include a large hotel, a housing area of 300 different sized villas, swimming pools, children's playgrounds, a small hotel, a bird garden, a commercial complex and sports playgrounds. [Text] [Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 12 Feb 85 p 3 JN]

CSO: 4400/90

KUWAIT

## VARIOUS FINANCIAL FIGURES DISCUSS ECONOMY, INVESTMENT OPTIONS

### Letup of Crisis Predicted

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL in Arabic Jan 85 p 73

[Text] Although Kuwait is still suffering from the al-Manakh market crisis, the Gulf War and its bad psychological and material effects, the Kuwaiti economy resumed its growth last year. Domestic product realized a growth rate estimated at 11 percent, while the non-oil sectors achieved a growth of more than 5 percent. These percentages are considered good in a world dominated by recession.

However, the growth rates may perhaps not offer a picture of actual conditions. Kuwaiti society is still suffering from the al-Manakh market crisis, the solutions to which are said to have reached the final stages. Also, the specter of bankruptcy is threatening companies and organizations which no one had suspected were susceptible to jolts. The most recent remark made in this regard is that the magnitude of the losses 48 companies, including banks, sustained as a result of the decline in the prices of stocks, whether of Kuwaiti or Gulf companies, has exceeded the magnitude of the al-Manakh market crisis. However, this statement involves great exaggeration, as the president of the United Bank of Kuwait, Mr Fahd al-Raj'an, says. What is certain is that there is a number of companies which were affected by the crisis and that the effect on some of them has reached the point of bankruptcy; however, the magnitude of the crisis is not in any event on the scale of that of the al-Manakh market -- rather, it is minor if a comparison is made with that crisis. Pessimistic predictions point out that these companies' assets have dropped at very sharp rates, and yet the magnitude of this decline does not exceed 600 million dinars.

Investment personalities in Kuwait are optimistic. The anticipated economic revival will guarantee that distorted conditions will be set straight, and the Kuwait stock exchange has shown its response to the attempts to revive the transaction process and stock prices. A committee of specialists, businessmen and official figures is also working assiduously to study the most successful way to shake off the effects of the al-Manakh market crisis as quickly as possible in order to bring about the normalization of the Kuwaiti economy.

What it seems is that the Kuwaiti government, with its massive resources, is determined to transcend the al-Manakh market crisis whatever the cost might be, and that the committee will define the road to salvation for the government.

However, a number of realists consider that one must not dwell overlong on optimism. Recovery is still far off, although the al-Manakh market crisis has reached its final stages; the reasons are not confined to the effects of the al-Manakh market crisis but rather go beyond them, to the Gulf war, which has created a psychological climate that has caused investors in the Gulf to feel fear and money to flee abroad.

In addition to that, Kuwait's revenues from oil and oil products are still so low that they might not allow for possibilities of a desirable great recovery at this time specifically.

In brief, the commotion the al-Manakh market crisis, the Gulf war, the drop in revenues, the increase in defense expenditures and other negative factors have created might not be propitious for real recovery in the short term.

Businessmen's view of the bankrupt organizations is that they are a natural matter in a free economy. Survival always goes to the fittest, and companies which collapse are weak ones with poor management, while companies that survive are strong ones which have better management. One should bear in mind that the number of bankrupt companies is still small and limited.

In brief, Kuwait is going through a stage of transition. The time when it was possible to pursue the game of speculation in stocks went for good when a new stock exchange was created on the rubble of the old one and work recently began in accordance with statutes of laws that impart discipline. One should bear in mind that the Kuwaiti government will not permit the repetition of the stock market crisis (1977) and that of the al-Manakh market (1982), however much that might cost. Dangerous financial "adolescence" is waning, to be overtaken by maturation, as a Kuwaiti businessman says.

Such a transition stage also requires the downfall, or the bringing down, of weak economic units and the establishment of large units on true commercial foundations which are in no way connected to speculation in stocks and real property. The stage also requires self-reliance and the provision of support and assistance to contracting companies and local industries.

During this period, Kuwait has been continuing to diversify its oil sector. It has made a great stride toward exporting oil products and assuming ownership of petroleum facilities abroad, especially in Europe, and indeed toward establishing an integrated petroleum industry relying on the export of crude and refined products in addition to transportation, drilling, exploration and so forth. The Kuwait Oil Organization today is considered one of the biggest oil companies in the world.

Kuwait's foreign investments are for their part realizing success; estimates indicate that their magnitude is about 16 billion Kuwaiti dinars, that is, about \$54 billion, realizing an income of close to \$5 billion annually,

which is enough to meet the deficit in the budget and realize a surplus for reinvestment.

In the following pages, Kuwaiti businessmen talk about the year 1984 and the perspective for 1985 and domestic and foreign investment, draw a picture of actual conditions and offer some solutions.

#### Banker's Description, Forecasts

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL in Arabic Jan 85 pp 79, 80

[Text] Mr Muhammad 'Abd-al-Muhsin al-Kharafi, chairman of the board of the Kuwait National Bank, the biggest Kuwaiti bank, expects not a radical improvement in economic activity in Kuwait but, rather, low rates of growth. However, he expresses satisfaction with the measures taken to transcend the al-Manakh market crisis and asserts that the most effective means for transcending it is to restore confidence in the stock market. Here is an interview with him on his vision of 1985:

AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL: How do you view investment in the Arab world? What Arab countries do you consider have passed the test of attracting Arab capital? Has the recession affected the flow of Gulf money toward the Arab countries?

Al-Kharafi: There is no doubt that investment in the Arab world, if afforded the necessary conditions, is to be considered the best approach for Arab capital.

The effective, positive role which specialized Arab developmental organizations are making to stimulate the movement of investments among the Arab countries by attracting capital exporting countries and introducing them to new investment opportunities in capital-importing countries has led to a perceptible increase in the flow of investments among Arab countries, through official development or through private investments.

There is no doubt that some Arab countries have been relatively successful in attracting more Arab Gulf capital and other capital by providing the appropriate climate for Arab investors and by easing procedures for granting benefits, in addition to providing guarantees which have had the effect of providing the incentives necessary to attract private capital.

In addition, available statistics point to the lack of effect of the prevailing recession on the magnitude of the flow of Gulf capital to Arab countries. In the context of official reserves, Gulf national funds and the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development have continued to offer financing and technical support to Arab countries to help them carry out their development plans and raise the level of these countries' structural and economic foundations.

AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL: What are your expectations regarding the Kuwaiti economy in 1985?

Al-Kharafi: We cannot actually say that the current economic situation in the country will witness fundamental improvement in 1985, since as we mentioned the rates of growth will stay at their low levels, in view of the contraction in most economic activities. However, it is worthwhile for us to point out here that Kuwait is not currently suffering from an actual, absolute recession; all the situation involves is that in comparison with the accelerating growth rates which were realized in the years of abundant oil sales the growth rate for the year 1985 will be low relative to previous years. In addition, the authorities are earnestly working to revive the productive sectors in the domestic economy by concentrating government spending on development projects, especially those related to housing projects, as well as constantly monitoring the policy of guiding spending.

However, Kuwait's current situation is still at an excellent level, and will continue to be so over the near and long term. As long as there is oil production, Kuwait will continue to receive a continuing income from selling it. Even at the current production level, which is estimated at about 900,000 barrels a day, it is expected that oil revenues in 1985 will come to approximately \$9 billion. One should bear in mind that Kuwait has flexibility in increasing its exports of refined oil products in the event the level of its crude oil export demand or prices drops.

In addition to oil revenues, Kuwait has a good income from its foreign investments, which is expected to come to about \$5 billion in 1985. These massive sums cannot be taken lightly, especially in view of Kuwait's size.

AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL: What are the most important local developments which emerged in 1984 in the economic and financial contexts?

Al-Kharafi: Perhaps the most important developments which stood out on the local scene in 1984 were the encouraging initial signs along the road to the final settlement of the al-Manakh market crisis, over which the curtain was lowered recently with the issuance of four classes of bonds which the organization issued to settle term transactions and the determination of their owners's right to dispose of them by sale or discount with local banks.

Another positive development was the government's pursuit of an expansionist development policy, since allocations to development expenditures have risen by 22 percent in the general budget for 1984-85. It is necessary to point out here that the growth rates the domestic economy realized in the years 1974 to 1982 had advanced in an escalating, increasing fashion but that during the years 1983 and 1984 the growth rates began to decline, in keeping with the prevailing international and regional circumstances, and this is what the economic sectors in the country must grasp in full, take into account and conform to, since the wheel of the Kuwaiti economy is expected to continue to revolve in a much slower fashion during the next few years in comparison with the strong impetus it witnessed in the periods of accelerating growth. This will lead consequently to a decline in financial surpluses in the country's domestic and foreign accounts, since the surplus in the balance of trade and consequently the surplus in the current balance and the balance of foreign payments are expected to decline.

AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL: You have been chosen as a representative of the bank to be a member of the committee to stimulate the economy. What is the nature of this committee's activity and what role has it actually played in stimulating the domestic economy?

Al-Kharafi: Among the group of decisions the government has taken with the goal of stimulating the domestic economy in accordance with specific, well designed criteria was the Council of Ministers' decree bearing on the formation of "the committee to stimulate the economy" which contains representatives of all the sectors and various specialized official and private bodies. We are following up on the best and most appropriate ways by which the banking system can perform a positive, effective role in stimulating the economic cycle. That has occasioned a detailed review of the most important causes of the current crisis which is sweeping over the country through an analysis and study of the economic situation in actual conditions in a thorough manner, so that effective recommendations for emerging from the crisis may be presented, while helping to set out the broad bases of the strategy of the country's economic development and growth. It is worth pointing out that there are two memoranda which were previously prepared on this subject and presented to the highest bodies; these are a memorandum from the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Kuwait on means for stimulating and providing momentum for the economic situation and the memorandum of the technical ministerial committee which included the Ministries of Finance, Trade and Planning and the Central Bank. They in particular attracted the interest of the committee, since the committee which has been formed is to incorporate the recommendations of these two memoranda in a reasonable manner which can be applied, so that benefit may be derived from the great efforts and intensified field studies the two bodies made when they prepared the two memoranda.

It should be pointed out that the committee to stimulate economic activity is headed by the minister of finance and the minister of oil and includes the minister of commerce and industry, the governor of the Central Bank and the director general of the securities market, in addition to 20 other members representing commercial and specialized banks, corporations, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Kuwait University, the Ministries of Finance, Planning and Justice and the Department of Juridical Rulings and Legislation, in addition to three members to be chosen by the Council of Ministers who have expertise and interest in economic affairs.

In my opinion, one of the most important basic factors in the revival of the local market is the restoration of confidence among the people dealing in the stock market. This alone will guarantee that the spirit of optimism will spread and therefore be followed by activity and movement in all economic fields. Confidence now is considered in effect the essence toward which all purposeful government activity is directed at the present time.

AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL: How were the results of the National Bank of Kuwait's activities in 1984, and what are your expectations for all economic activities in 1985 as regards the bank in particular and the banking sector in Kuwait in general?

Al-Kharafi: As regards the results of the 1984 operations, in spite of the prevalent state of recession and the unfavorable concomitant circumstances,

the National Bank of Kuwait managed to realize reasonable rates of growth by relying on its conservative policy, which is also concerned to offer the best of banking services in addition to expansion in foreign branches. From this premise, the bank has kept its leadership position among local banks, thanks to the advanced services it offers. The most recent of these has been the use of automatic tellers, the issuance of "National Express" cards and the provision of special savings accounts as a new savings instrument, through its extensive system of branches, which are spread out over all areas of the country, since it now has 48 branches, the largest system of local branches of any domestic Kuwaiti bank. At the same time, the bank has succeeded in establishing an actual presence in the world money market by opening the fourth branch abroad, I mean the New York branch. Thus it finished establishing the basic foundations for its foreign takeoff, after two branches had previously been opened in London and a branch in Singapore.

Concerning future expectations for 1985, as regards the Kuwait National Bank, God willing it will continue to pursue its conservative policy and customary efforts of providing the best types of advanced banking services, consolidating its relations with its customers and diversifying the specialized services it offers them, while being concerned to monitor the most modern facilities the science of technology is offering in the area of banking services. In the international context, the bank will strengthen the international orientation which it began about 5 years ago by completing the programs of geographical expansion contained in its strategic plan, in addition to its unremitting efforts to diversify the services it offers its Kuwaiti clients and others, in order to benefit from its branches which are active in all international money markets.

As regards the banking sector, it is clear that the domestic banks are continuing to compete with one another and competing for the sake of concentrating the foundations of their presence in the local and international contexts. For that reason, it is expected that the intensity of competition among them will increase, especially if conditions remain as they are and economic conditions do not experience a perceptible improvement in 1985.

#### Banker Promotes Bonds, Savings

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL in Arabic Jan 85 pp 82, 83

[Text] Kuwaiti banks have an experience on which light has rarely been shed, the United Bank of Kuwait, a bank the Kuwaiti banks have established in Britain to be in effect their joint consolidated branch in London. Here, with time, it has grown and has become an important bank in Britain with its many activities. Here is an interview with its president, Mr Fahd al-Raj'an:

AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL: Did the United Bank of Kuwait keep separate from the securities market crisis, bearing in mind that many Kuwaiti banks and companies, or ones in which Kuwaitis are participants, were implicated in the crisis one way or the other?

Al-Raj'an: The United Bank of Kuwait's activity, as is well known, is concentrated in London. It plays an important role as an intermediary between



Kuwaiti financial institutions and the money market in London, and consequently the bank has not been affected by the crisis the securities market in Kuwait went through, and it has in fact remained far removed from it. In addition, the extent to which Kuwaiti commercial banks were affected by the crisis is something which has been exaggerated to a large degree.

AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL: How do you view the future of the pound sterling? Do you encourage investment in it?

Al-Raj'an: The pound sterling is suffering from two main factors. The first of these is attributable to domestic causes related to the strength of the British economy and the conditions of the world oil market, since Britain relies substantially on its oil exports to obtain foreign revenues and consequently the deterioration in the conditions of the world oil market has a direct effect on the availability of sources of foreign currency and on the strength of the pound sterling. The foreign factor may be ascribed to the strength of the American dollar in general, which has been supported by the rise in interest rates and the drop in inflation rates in the United States. A great increase in confidence in the American economy and its future has arisen from this, but this situation will not continue for long since interest rates in the United States will undergo some decline next year, and this will have a tangible effect on the improvement of many European currencies, foremost among them the pound sterling. There also are factors which inspire optimism about the future and the vitality of the British economy. In brief, I believe that opportunities are now favorable to invest in the pound sterling.

AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL: Are Kuwaiti citizens' accounts in the United Bank of Kuwait subject to the British tax system? Why doesn't the bank have representation in Kuwait?

Al-Raj'an: The accounts of Kuwaiti citizens are not subject to the British tax system because they are not resident in Britain. Such accounts have a special character which is distinguished by being exempt from tax.

Thinking is now being directed actually to establishing a representation office for the United Bank of Kuwait in Kuwait to facilitate the transactions of its agents residing in Kuwait and to provide them with a direct link to it throughout the year. However, the bank is not thinking of having commercial activity in Kuwait, since that lies outside the scope of its objectives.

AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL: Is the bank offering loans and credit facilities to Britishers or Arabs residing in Britain to finance Arab investment activities?

Al-Raj'an: The bank gives special priority to providing loans and credit facilities to Kuwaiti citizens, whether they are residing in Britain or visiting it on a regular basis. It also plays an important role in providing credit facilities to Arabs residing in Britain and British citizens in general. One of the most important activities the bank carries out is to provide loans and credit facilities to people who want to buy apartments to

live in and to owners of real estate projects. The bank is now seeking to develop this activity and expand it in a manner which will serve its agents in the best possible way.

AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL: What are your conceptions of the future of interest in Britain? Is there a connection between the rate of decline in the value of the pound and the rate at which that interest would be on a par with the interest rates which are relatively higher than it?

Al-Raj'an: Interest in Britain is affected by the level of interest rates in the United States of America and other industrial countries. As pointed out above, it is expected that American interest rates will go through some decline, which will be reflected on the level of interest rates in Britain. As regards the relationship between the probable rate of decline in the value of the pound and the interest rate in Britain, it seems that that is now in a relatively balanced state, since the chances of a drop in the value of the pound are now limited in comparison with the interest rates related to pound sterling deposits.

AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL: Does the bank have any investment activities in Kuwait, or is its activity just restricted to the British market?

Al-Raj'an: The bank has no local investments of consequence; rather, its activity is concentrated, in accordance with the charter agreement and its bylaws, on the British market. However, the United Bank of Kuwait successfully took the initiative of borrowing from the Kuwaiti market last year and that is a positive phenomenon as far as this bank's relationship with the Kuwaiti money market goes.

AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL: As regards the private sector, what in your opinion are the best opportunities at present for investment in the world? Is Europe still retaining its traditional role in attracting investments from the Middle East?

Al-Raj'an: There are numerous opportunities for investment in numerous areas of the world, and in view of the high levels of interest rates, deposits and bonds are considered to be among the preferable opportunities now because they are the areas of investment which are the least subject to fluctuations, not to mention the high return they realize. That situation of course applies to deposits and bonds valued in the American dollar, pound sterling and the German mark. As regards real estate investments, there still are feasible opportunities in some American cities and also in some European countries, because of the drop in these countries' currencies. I would like to point out on this occasion that the United Bank of Kuwait plays an extensive role in the management of private portfolios and in the discovery of opportunities for investment in the real estate market in Europe or the United States of America. The branch it opened last year in New York City with the objective of serving its clients in the form of Kuwaiti citizens and Arabs strengthens its role in this field.

As regards Europe's role in attracting investment from the Middle East, I believe that it still has reservations about this role, but the presence of

a number of Kuwaiti institutions in the American market has helped provide Kuwaiti investors and Arab investors in general with alternative opportunities.

#### Real Estate Consortium's Evaluation

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL in Arabic Jan 85 pp 83, 84

[Text] The Kuwait Real Estate Investment Consortium is one of the most active and dynamic of Kuwaiti investment companies. Whereas its activity had been restricted to "Arab investment" before 1980, by virtue of the law which established it, after that date it was then devoted to Arab and international investment and activity in the domestic market. Here its general director talks about the consortium, the effect the al-Manakh crisis had on it and its expansion abroad, especially in the United States market.

When there is a financial crisis of the magnitude of the crisis of the al-Manakh market in Kuwait, which recently shut down, no one can feel optimism about the present and the near future at least, especially since the magnitude of the crisis, which came to about \$50 billion, inflicted harm on a broad segment of the companies and organizations operating in the country.

The crisis will perforce be reflected on these organizations, although they do not have a direct relationship to the crisis or its causes, in view of its comprehensive nature. Consequently, the process of emerging with the fewest possible losses and damages has become the maximum ambition of the management of any company. However, in the Real Estate Consortium you can find the board of directors, its chairman and the managerial system sharing an optimistic view of the present and the future and anticipating the attainment of profits. They are encouraged in that by the serious activity and ambitious plans they have started to carry out. Mr 'Awwad al-Khalidi, the director general of the consortium, said, "We were not affected by the crisis to the painful degree to which others were. The crisis is general and its negative repercussions have embraced all sectors. However, there still are people who have not been affected by the crisis in a bothersome way, and we are among them. Indeed, we have been able to carry out large projects and investments in participation with these certain people, who, like us, were spared grievous harm by the crisis, while admitting that there are 'minor damages' which none of us can ignore or refuse to acknowledge."

He went on, "The consortium has established a company this year to manage its office in New York, since the United States has attracted many of the consortium's projects, and it has also established a specialized commercial bank in participation with the Arab International Investment Bank (the BAIIBanking Corporation). This was opened last September." Concerning the areas of domestic investment, al-Khalidi believed that investment in Kuwait is connected firmly and basically to the real estate and stock sectors, and for this reason he seemed confident that these two sectors would regain their basic role as channels for attracting local investments, especially with the conclusion of the unravelling of the interconnection among people conducting transactions, a few of whom are still obstacles perhaps not for purely economic reasons but in view of the narrow scope of local investment channels

and the absence of opportunities for establishing successful industries or other areas of investment besides real estate and stocks.

Here al-Khalidi referred to the beginning of the resumption of noticeable activity in the securities market, where stock transactions have acquired a sort of balanced control in the light of the new laws. He asserted "The basis of this activity is founded on some considerations, most importantly that we are now at the end of the crisis and the prices of stocks are now low, although it is profitable to buy them whatever the circumstances might be. The new Kuwait securities market statute will be a safety valve in the future, although more time is needed until investors become acclimatized to this new statute."

Al-Khalidi considered that the big dealers' failure to return to the market can be attributed to their preoccupation with unraveling the interrelationships which are impeding their activity. However, it is natural that they, or others, will return, because many people attach broad hopes to stocks, which they believe are still below their real value, because of a number of additional factors alongside that of the crisis, most important of which are the reduction in the prices of oil, which has resulted in the drop in government spending, and the war between Iraq and Iran. With the elimination of these three factors (the crisis, the war and the drop in oil exports and prices), stocks can come back and take off again.

Al-Khalidi stressed the gradual restoration of confidence in local investment, since he considered that much of the capital which fled with the goal of seeking investment opportunities abroad has started to return or is prepared to return eventually, now that the capital has felt a lack of confidence in traditional areas of attraction. [He said] "I believe that the money which is coming back cannot all be invested as frozen deposits in local banks. Therefore a portion of it will be invested in stocks and another portion in the real estate sector in the context of the diversification of investments for the sake of apportioning risks. This has become a principle of every capital owner since the latest crisis. Indeed, some capital which had previously left has returned again to Kuwait and perhaps the cause of its departure was nothing more than the desire to put it in investments in the dollar, which has realized a strong rise in the past few months, since its constant rise and the rise in the interest on it have constituted the factor of attraction for many people in the world, in Europe, Asia and other countries, not just Kuwait."

Al-Khalidi discussed the consortium's projects and said that the consortium's success in tightening total control over the structure of subsidiary companies and projects, whether they are in the Maghreb, other Arab countries or countries [elsewhere] in the world, represents an unusual element in the context of the economic circumstances prevailing locally, regionally and internationally.

Concerning the consortium's projects in Arab countries, Mr al-Khalidi pointed out "Since the consortium expanded its industrial and agricultural projects in Arab countries, it has been confronted by the desire on the part of numerous other parties to participate with it in these projects, or some of

them, and new investors have entered into new projects. In addition, some long range projects have started to yield profits this year, such as the sugar mills in Morocco or another gas distribution company, in addition to the consortium's projects and real estate investments, since tourist hotels have started to yield growing profits. These profits have been good and satisfactory, and they would have been assumed to be greater had it not been for the 'change' in French tourist activity and the limits placed on amounts French tourists can take out with them. Our tourist investments in both Morocco and Tunisia have been affected."

He went on, "1984 was distinctive. As well as pursuing a more controlled policy regarding projects, the consortium completed many other projects this year, such as the porcelain and brick factories in Egypt.

"The group began the process of taking off and expanding projects in an international context in 1980, when the establishment agreement was modified in a manner which then allowed us to invest in Kuwait and in other foreign countries such as Singapore and Malaysia in the east and the United States in the west. However, the consortium's foreign activity is now almost totally concentrated in the United States in view of the stable nature of the American market, in addition to the strength of the dollar, which supports the projects' revenues.

"The consortium's ambitions in the last 2 years have not been confined to real estate investments, but rather have gone beyond those to transactions in tourist investment business, real estate diversification, industrial and agricultural investments in Egypt and Tunisia, and purely financial investments in Kuwait and the United States.

"In addition to that, we have established a room for foreign currency transactions, which has been outfitted with the best means of communications, and the people working it receive advanced levels of training in international banking activities and currency exchange."

Al-Khalidi concluded by saying "The consortium's ambition now goes beyond the scope of pilot projects to the marketing of real estate investment portfolios and investing in and marketing mutual funds which it invests in real estate investments in America. We have achieved success although we are at the beginning of this road, since we have established a special bank for this purpose in participation with other bodies, and have also established a real estate investment fund in the United States to cover a period of 10 years, which can be extended. This fund was established in cooperation with the Bank of America and in the course of the past 8 months we have carried out many different economic feasibility studies which have taken economic and tax aspects into consideration. Therefore I can say that we are now at the stage where we are reaping the benefits."

#### Advisor Tallies Investment Areas

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WAI-A'MAL in Arabic Jan 85 pp 85, 86

[Text] One active Kuwaiti investment firm is the al-Jawharah Investment Company. Here is a conversation with Dr Hamid al-Hadidi, the company's advisor.

Question: What are the areas of investment available now as regards capital which has been able to grow with the smallest losses as a result of the al-Manakh market crisis?

Answer: There are various areas available locally for the investment of funds, but most of these areas are outside the region, owing to the recession prevailing locally and the region's failure to absorb new investment projects, especially real estate projects, which have increased the particular nature of the market, in addition to a lack of certainty on the future of the Gulf war, its end and the future of the oil market.

The foreign investment areas are more diverse from the geographic standpoint. As far as forms and nature of investment go, it seems that America is still the preferred location for this purpose in view of the broad scope of the market, its consistent nature, its political and economic stability and the presence of all the factors which help make a success of investment, those bearing on the necessary infrastructure, technology, communications services and various specialized services in technical, financial, administrative and other areas. In addition to this, the economic growth is relatively better than that in the European and other industrial countries. Another important element is that the strength of the dollar is continuing to grow and it is expected that that will continue, protecting investment from a decline in value as a result of the drop in foreign currency.

Let me also refer to the availability of good investment opportunities in some Arab countries which provide suitable economic and legal circumstances and preferential tax treatment in the area of food production, since the markets for that are large.

Question: What is the situation regarding closed companies, and why have companies with similar or complementary missions not merged?

Answer: I believe that the problem of closed companies is a simple and secondary one relative to the problem of the financial market and the unsuitable psychological situation which everyone is suffering from, one of whose main causes is considered to be a lack of certainty of outlook regarding the future of the market. Therefore, the market needs basic solutions which will not deal with closed companies as closed companies but will aim at providing the proper investment and suitable psychological climate for all the people working in it, including the closed companies. If the issue of a comprehensive solution is given its due in the scale of priorities, it will be easier and sounder to resolve the issue of closings in the context of better circumstances in the market in general.

Question: How do you view the economic circumstances prevailing locally, regionally and internationally? To what extent can these circumstances be helpful for the proper growth of capital?

Answer: The local and regional economic circumstances are similar; these are unusual and have come about as a result of circumstances of stagnation, contraction and international unemployment. They are not helpful for the growth of capital but lead, rather, to its contraction. However, there still is

hope that the economic revival which began forcefully in the early part of last year in the United States, and is expected to spread first of all among the other industrial countries, will become general, after which its effects will appear in the other countries which supply the industrial countries with the primary materials and energy necessary to support and strengthen their expected revival.

Question: Are you in favor of ridding the market of bankrupt companies? Is these companies' declaration of bankruptcy in the interests of the market or not?

Answer: I believe in economic freedom where the law of supply and demand functions in the interests of the most productive and profitable sectors in general. Mistakes are supposed to be made in some organizations, resulting in the realization of losses that might take them out of the market if their course is not corrected and their goals changed. The phenomenon of some companies' reaching the point of bankruptcy means a lack of attributes necessary for their survival. Since the local market is one based on economic freedom, such situations must appear, just as is the case in other countries, industrial and non-industrial, where weak organizations fall and new organizations with new goals and aspirations appear in their place in accordance with the circumstances of a permanently changing market.

Question: What are your expectations regarding the fate of the stock market in Kuwait following the application of the new statute on transactions which is meeting with opposition from some parties because it limits freedom of movement?

Answer: People conducting transactions in the market are supposed to benefit from the past and work to fill the gaps which led to the crisis, and this is what has happened. What I expect is that after the new statutes on transactions are set out and applied the stock market in Kuwait will return to a normal situation, once the people conducting transactions regain confidence. I consider that in order to restore confidence to the market the financial information bearing on the companies whose stocks are being dealt with must be made available to investors, at least to investment institutions, and that that is necessary in order for investors to be informed, if only in a preliminary manner, about the company's situation and the value of its stocks. In this area it is necessary to emphasize and assert the need for acknowledged accounting rules to which the companies will be restricted in preparing their accounts and financial statements and which they will show to investors so that they will be able to make comparisons and take decisions.

Question: Do you believe that there is commercial and economic stagnation in Kuwait or that what the various companies and organizations are suffering from can be attributed to the great expansion in the establishment of these companies, so that a surplus over requirements has been created?

Answer: As I mentioned previously, the prevailing economic circumstances are for the most part an extension of international circumstances which are characterized by stagnation and contraction. Of course the excessive expansion

in the number of companies in a manner which is surplus to the market's need for them has helped intensify that.

Question: What is your estimation of the most successful media of investment now? Are they in currencies, land and real estate, or stocks and bonds, or are there other areas?

[Answer] I believe in the need to diversify investment and diversify risk, because we are in a market which is characterized by economic freedom and the freedom for competitors to come in and leave. It is difficult to specify the best area for investment since there are good opportunities in various fields. However, in periods of recession and decline in the prices of materials, commodities and services, in view of the drop in demand for them, and with the anticipation of emerging from that into revival, opportunities are normally available to invest in industrial, agricultural and technological productive projects, since it is expected that the demand for their products and consequently their profits will increase. This applies to the establishment of new companies and the purchase of stock in existing ones.

#### Banker Discounts Massive Bankruptcies

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL in Arabic Jan 85 pp 86-88

[Text] Although a number of industrial companies in Kuwait are faced with bankruptcy, and one of them, the Medical Equipment Company, has been liquidated, industrial investments, it appears, have not been greatly affected by the crises of recession and the al-Manakh market. Here is a conversation with Mr Muhammad 'Abd-al-Hadi Jamal, the expert in the Projects Department in the Kuwait Industrial Bank, concerning the industrial sector in the light of the crisis.

AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL: To what extent can one say that the industrial companies, at the present stage, are faced with the possibilities of bankruptcy?

Jamal: The course of economic activity in Kuwait has been experiencing an obvious slowdown in pace for a considerable period. This may be attributed to a number of international variables and regional and local circumstances. This situation is reflected on most of the economic institutions in the country, including the industrial companies. Indeed, one can say that the industrial companies in Kuwait have not been affected to the same degree as the other commercial organizations have, be they financial, real estate or other; by that I mean that the industrial organizations which have suffered and are suffering from the economic crisis are fewer than the non-industrial ones, and they are not facing a crisis greater than that the other organizations are facing.

Concerning any industrial or non-industrial company's potential for bankruptcy, that can arise at any time, indeed, is the natural application of the law of the market, which is the survival of the fittest. If it happens that does not mean that catastrophe will rage over industry as a whole; the bankruptcy of companies is a normal thing. Any company might face such a situation someday as a result of a number of factors, most important of them



being mismanagement, change in the circumstances of the market, the popularity of industrial products attractive to the consumer, or the appearance of a new technology replacing that used in any existing factory. I would like to stress once again that the bankruptcy of any industrial company, no matter how great its size may be, does not mean that the alarm of danger has sounded as far as industry as a whole goes. That is a normal thing which could arise as a result of any of the reasons we have mentioned or another number of reasons we have not mentioned, especially at this time, when most advanced industrial countries are suffering from stifling economic crises. This is on the one hand; on the other, the flimsiness of the umbrella of protection for Kuwaiti industry, at a time when the prices of currencies of advanced industrial countries have dropped, has helped flood the Kuwaiti market with cheap foreign products which will lead to competition for local products, indeed their strangulation if the government does not pay attention to that. This will subsequently lead to bankruptcies which are not likely to occur in ordinary circumstances. I would like to stress once again that the industrial companies which have been affected by the current economic crisis and could reach the point of declaring bankruptcy are few, numbering no more than one's fingers, and consequently represent only a very minor proportion of the industrial sector in Kuwait.

AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL: Can the Industrial Bank persevere in the face of conditions preventing industrial installations from meeting their commitments and the consequent rescheduling of its debts by the Industrial Bank? Has the rescheduling process actually taken place?

Jamal: Not all industrial installations are suffering from the problem of a shortage of liquidity. One can say that just a small number of them are going through such circumstances. The Industrial Bank will not stint in helping these companies transcend this crisis in the event it is convinced of their actual need for help. The bank has had an effective role in this context, before and during the crisis. In the past it rescheduled some loans, and did so after detailed studies, one result of which was that it reorganized the financial structure of some companies which suffered from a shortage of liquidity, which led to an improvement in their conditions after a short period of time and their condition returned to normal. That happened in the years preceding the crisis. It will not stint in studying any case that might occur in the current circumstances. In our opinion these cases account for a proportion which does not exceed 10 percent of the industrial projects existing in Kuwait.

AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL: What are your plans for developing the bank's resources?

Jamal: The bank's financial resources can be broken down into two main parts, in addition to the capital, which comes to 20 million Kuwaiti dinars and has been paid in full. These two resources are government loans and other financial sources. As regards the former, the government has offered the Kuwait Industrial Bank two long-term loans, the value of each of which is 100 million dinars. The first is at an annual interest of 2.5 percent over a 15-year period, and that was allocated to the bank in 1975; it was drawn on at various periods, in accordance with the bank's needs to relend

it to industrial projects, and it was drawn on in full in 1979. The bank has started to pay it off in instalments whose total up to this date comes to about 14 million dinars.

The interest on the second loan was 3 percent. That was allocated to the bank in 1980, and was drawn on in full in 1981; its period is also 15 years.

As regards the plans to develop this basic source of financing, that depends on the extent of the bank's need for it. In the event need for more industrial financing is apparent, the bank will inform the government of its needs. We do not believe that the government will stint in supporting the bank in this area.

The second resource comes from bonds the bank issues from time to time, in addition to the banks' deposits. Since the cost of these sources generally reflects the commercial interest rate prevalent in the market, they are therefore invested in banking activities with a commercial yield which will cover their cost and give an attractive yield. These include the local, regional and international financial and money markets. One objective of the bank is to continue to develop these sources and seek attractive new opportunities for investing them.

AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL: Do you believe that Kuwaiti industries get adequate support? What are the different features of the shortcomings in these industries' receipt of government support, whether direct or indirect?

Jamal: Although there are many incentives for encouraging industry in Kuwait, there are many shortcomings in the way they are applied by government agencies. For example, the government has set aside model industrial zones to offer to industry at token prices, but in practice we come up against problems which on most occasions result in obstructing the industrial installations and creating obstacles for which there is no reason, causing delay in the execution of the projects. For example, when an industrial plot is allocated to some project, we find that the competent body sets aside land for the project which is almost inadequate for its needs, compelling the investor to come back to the competent body a number of times to review his application for additional acreage, and, after give and take between the project owner and these bodies, the project owner does obtain a specific increase in acreage, after which he starts to erect the project on an area which might not meet his needs. Normally, this leads to a delay in execution of the project, and consequently an increase in the costs of erecting it, and in addition the owner of the project on some occasions is compelled to change the type of equipment in view of the limited acreage, and this is negatively reflected on the feasibility of the project.

Another problem in this area is that many plots are distributed in new industrial areas before infrastructure services are available in them, for instance roads, water and sewers, which causes many problems for the owners of the factories since they find themselves in areas which resemble desert in terms of a lack of services. This has actually happened in a number of industrial areas, of which I might mention, for example, the Sabhan, Amgharah and West Mina' 'Abdallah areas.

Another example is that the government law stipulates the protection of domestic industry from foreign competition, but when we come to application we find that customs protection in the case of most local industries is almost absent. This causes foreign products to come in at low prices which on many occasions are below cost. This is a well known policy which many big industrial companies follow, since they flood markets with their products with the goal of eliminating emerging industries and consequently monopolizing markets, after they are given freedom of action. Most unfortunately, we have not yet seen a serious stand aimed at protecting local industry from this unequal competition. In another area, although some decrees the government has issued stipulate that local products are to be given preference in government purchases, through bids or direct government purchases, we find that that is not fully applied, the purchase is made from foreign sources and the local high-quality product remains unsupported or unprotected.

Therefore I consider that local industry has not been treated fairly and given its rights; otherwise, it would have been in much better condition than it is now, from the standpoint of quality or the standpoint of price.

AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL: What is the total value of the loans granted to support industries in 1984 and what are your expectations on the volume of the loans which you believe you will have to offer in the new year, 1985?

Jamal: The value of the loans granted to industrial projects in 1984 came to about 30 million Kuwaiti dinars. This figure is considered close to the annual average volume of industrial loans the bank granted in past years, which shows that the propensity toward industrial investment has not been affected by the crisis. As for the loans which will be granted to industrial projects in 1985, it is expected that these will reach the same level as before, approximately, since the bank now has applications for industrial loans which are expected to be investigated at the beginning of 1985. This indicates that the level of industrial lending for the new year will not be far apart from the average for past years. It is well known that the total industrial loans the Kuwait Industrial Bank has granted to industrial projects in Kuwait up to this date exceed 264 million dinars, which have been given to about 330 industrial projects, broken down among 12 industrial sectors, which one can summarize as follows:

| Industrial Sectors                  | Number of Projects<br>Financed | Total Project<br>Cost | Bank<br>Financing |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Construction materials           | 98                             | 178,291               | 87,357            |
| 2. Metal products                   | 49                             | 79,374                | 37,715            |
| 3. Food and preserves<br>industries | 42                             | 79,651                | 38,184            |
| 4. Furniture                        | 20                             | 16,655                | 8,035             |
| 5. Marine and oil services          | 12                             | 41,033                | 23,775            |

|                             |     |         |         |
|-----------------------------|-----|---------|---------|
| 6. Chemical industries      | 57  | 90,330  | 39,935  |
| 7. Paper and paper products | 24  | 23,489  | 10,774  |
| 8. Printing                 | 12  | 15,348  | 6,775   |
| 9. Textiles                 | 8   | 15,956  | 4,935   |
| 10. Industrial services     | 1   | 1,530   | 700     |
| 11. Investment companies    | 2   | 23,000  | 4,750   |
| 12. Various industries      | 8   | 4,344   | 1,440   |
| Total                       | 333 | 569,001 | 264,345 |

#### Islamic Bank Achieves Progress

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WAL-A'MAL in Arabic Jan 85 pp 88, 89

[Text] The Islamic banks are still drawing the attention of observers, who are subjecting them to testing and evaluation. Perhaps foremost among these banks is the Kuwait Finance House, which has realized an unexpected success since its establishment in 1977. Here are some of the developments in it, as cited in its annual report for its 1983 activities.

The basic goal of the Kuwait Finance House and Islamic banks in general is to apply Islamic law in financial, banking and investment activities, to participate in developing the economies of Islamic countries, to guide individuals' savings and investments, and to offer some social services.

In order to confirm the soundness of the Islamic banks' activities from the standpoint of Islamic law, there is an Islamic law surveillance authority in the Islamic banks which is composed of jurists whose task is to evaluate the ongoing and newly created activities of the Islamic banks from the standpoint of Islamic law. These jurists provide the proof in Islamic law which supports or opposes these activities and to which the Islamic bank must adhere.

Proceeding from these principles and bases, the Kuwait Finance House started to function as an Islamic bank in Kuwait in 1977. The experiment has been a success, and the proof of that is the constant growth in deposits and the number of commercial accounts, as well as the constant expansion in its investment activities.

The Kuwait Finance House has attracted an increasing number of depositors, since total deposits (investments, savings and current accounts) have come to about 697.8 million Kuwaiti dinars, an increase of 47.3 percent over the past year. In addition, the number of accounts rose from 108,115 in 1982 to 154,029 in 1983.

Intensified efforts have been exerted to attract new clients and, in spite of unfavorable circumstances, the Kuwait Financing House has managed to retain a reasonable level of activity in documentary credits and resale with the specification of gain in order to import various goods and commodities, in particular necessary ones, which account for more than 80 percent. The volume of these transactions has come to more than 77 million Kuwaiti dinars.

In addition, the Finance House has exerted intensified efforts to realize a policy of diversifying the investment base on the one hand and fight inflation and hoarding on the other, by providing necessary consumer goods at appropriate prices. In spite of the unpropitious circumstances which the local market has experienced, the Finance House has managed to realize good growth in the volume of commercial investment, since total sales have come to 16 million dinars, an increase of 49.3 percent over last year.

Besides the steps which were taken in the area of diversifying and expanding the local investment base, investment activities have included new countries, foremost among them the Islamic countries, with the goal of strengthening banking and investment cooperation with Islamic financial organizations. In addition, the volume of investment deposits in Islamic financial banks and organizations has increased by 12.5 percent, since the total of these deposits came to about 5.4 million dinars in comparison with 2.4 million dinars last year.

The activities of the Finance House have not just been restricted to banking and investment but have gone beyond that to contributions and participations in a number of financial organizations:

The Islamic Bank of Bahrain; the Kuwait Finance House contributes 8.7 percent of the bank's shares.

The Bahrain Islamic Investment Company (Bahrain); the Kuwait Finance House owns 20 percent of the shares.

The Sudanese Islamic Solidarity Bank; the Kuwait Finance House has 5 percent and recently the bank's permitted capital was increased from \$20 million to \$50 million.

The International Islamic Bank (Luxembourg); the Kuwait Finance House has 15 percent of the bank's shares. One should bear in mind that the bank's capital has been raised from US \$10 million to \$30 million.

The International Islamic Audio-Visual Company (Cairo); the Kuwait Finance House has contributed 10 percent to the establishment of the company.

The Sudanese al-Faysal Islamic Bank (the Sudan).

The Dacca International Islamic Bank (Bangladesh).

The International Integrated Computer Systems Company, fully owned by the Kuwait Finance House. The company's capital has been increased to 1 million dinars.

The basis of the Kuwait Finance House is its contribution to other social, cultural and other areas, most important of which are:

1. In participation with the Islamic Bank of Dubai, the Islamic Bank of Bahrain and the Bahrain Islamic Investment Company, the Kuwait Finance House organized the second Islamic bank conference, which was held in Kuwait in the period 21-23 March 1983. The conference produced a copious volume of output, which was embodied in the juridical rulings and recommendations of the committee of scholars, totalling 15, which are considered signposts to illuminate the path before the activities of Islamic banks.
2. The Kuwait Finance House has taken part in a number of conferences and symposia inside and outside the country.
3. Responding to requests for information and queries from citizens and clients and offering them advice and counsel regarding the provisions of Islamic law governing financial transactions.
4. Issuing brochures, publications and magazines, as well as holding symposia and lectures aimed at increasing religious awareness among employees and deepening their awareness and understanding of Islamic provisions regarding the various aspects of financial transactions. The most recent contribution in this respect has been issuance of the magazine AL-NUR.

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# DANI SHAM'UN WARNS OF CONSEQUENCES OF FURTHER VIOLENCE

Beirut AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 21-27 Jan 85 pp 13-15

[Interview with Dani Sham'un, secretary general of the National Liberal Party, by Nawfal Daww: "Dani Sham'un: Return to Mountain Will Occur But on Condition That There Be No Oneupmanship; Faction Contributing to Return of Palestinians to Beirut Will Pay Price; Dayr al-Qamar Will Certainly Be Threatened If Druze Town Is Penetrated"]

[Text] With the expected Israeli withdrawal from the south, amidst a vague picture regarding alternative security and under the shadow of fear of the recurrence of what happened in the southern parts and in al-Kharrub District of the mountain, there emerge questions for which one seeks an answer. Dani Sham'un, the man who visited Israel during the mountain war, the son of al-Shuf, the secretary general of the National Liberal Party, the man who has a good relationship with the military force in the border strip and the son of Camille Sham'un, answers these questions which have been posed by AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI:

[Question] In what direction do you find matters moving at present? Will the approaches relying on the partial security plans and on the step-by-step policy lead to a positive result?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the army's arrival in al-Awwali and in al-Kharrub District has motivated us to be somewhat optimistic, especially since the new step indicates that those warring with arms have wanted the state to be the umpire and the judge. My hope is that the other security plans will be implemented calmly and speedily so that we may all return to the state's security and courts.

[Question] Do you believe in the efficiency of the security plans in the form in which they are acknowledged in Lebanon and, subsequently, do you think that the plan for the coast and the district will lead to satisfactory results in the long run?

[Answer] I do not believe in the security plans themselves unless the politicians warring through their militias and their weapons decide to restore to the state its right to maintain security and unless they resort to reason to settle pending political problems.

[Question] Is the will to do so present?

[Answer] The Lebanese army's arrival at the outskirts of al-Awwali gives the impression that good will is present. It is our hope that the deployment of the army will spread to the other areas.

[Question] Don't you think that Israel continues to hold a number of strings that enable it to move some factions in al-Kharrub District and in the south with the aim of putting pressure on the Lebanese government after Israel carries out its expected partial withdrawal?

[Answer] If some factions lose their sense again, move according to the alien's will and implement the foreigner's objectives on Lebanon's soil, then there is no doubt that the security and peace process will be in danger. But if they permit the army to move, then the army is capable of managing domestic affairs and of dealing with Israel in the necessary manner.

[Question] In its present condition, is the Lebanese army capable of confronting Israel and of standing in the face of its schemes?

[Answer] At least the army has the courage to do so. If the army's weapons and equipment are not equal to the Israeli army's equipment, we have felt enough courage in the army's ranks to reassure us somewhat.

From Sidon and al-Ghaziya

[Question] Do you consider Israel's decision to withdraw from Lebanon in stages a maneuver?

[Answer] It is my belief that we will witness an Israeli withdrawal from the Sidon and al-Ghaziya areas within a period before the end of this month or the middle of next month at the most.

[Question] Do your words rely on information or on expectation and analysis?

[Answer] Some rely on information we possess from the real situation where preparations are being made for withdrawal and some rely on our understanding of the course of affairs.

[Question] Will the Israeli withdrawal be coordinated with the State of Lebanon this time or will it be a "disciplinary" and partitionist withdrawal similar to the withdrawal from the mountain?

[Answer] I do not totally agree with you that the withdrawal from the mountain was "disciplinary." What I can say is that the withdrawal from the mountain was preceded by numerous Israeli contacts to coordinate that withdrawal with the State of Lebanon. As to why the coordination did not occur, this is something that I do not know. What I can assert is that our information is certain and reliable.



Regarding the expected withdrawal from the Sidon area, it will take place, with or without agreement with Lebanon. We must realize that Israel is a democratic country where the people bring their rulers to account as happens in every democratic country. The Israeli people now want withdrawal from Lebanon.

[Question] Your words contain indirect criticism of the State of Lebanon because it did not agree with Israel on the nature of Israel's withdrawal from the mountain.

[Answer] My words do not mean that the State of Lebanon did not have its circumstances. However, I am telling you that this is the reality.

[Question] What is important is whether what happened in the mountain will recur against the Christians in al-Kharrub District, for example.

[Answer] My hope is that the internecine fighting will not recur, especially since it has now stopped with the Lebanese army's entry into al-Kharrub District. In any case, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the mountain battle was not between Druze and Christian but between the Progressive Socialist Party and the Lebanese Forces.

[Question] Then how do you explain the killing of the Christians belonging to the Syrian Social Nationalist Party and Christians not belonging to any party and, in some cases, even socialist Christians?

[Answer] In battles like the battles which took place in the mountain, it is difficult--and we as militias know how things develop--to prevent the perpetration of massacres. Hostility and disputes are translated into massacres at times. But what is important is that the Druze were not alone in the battle. Palestinians and other foreigners were on their side.

[Question] Does this mean that Dani Sham'un is giving the Junblattists mitigating circumstances, or is he calling for resumption of the Christian-Druze coexistence process in the mountain?

[Answer] There is no doubt about this. I am from al-Shuf.

Dayr al-Qamar

[Question] What about Dayr al-Qamar's current situation?

[Answer] Dayr al-Qamar's inhabitants live very comfortably, God be thanked. They suffer from one problem, namely coming to Beirut and returning from it, because of the well-known security conditions and of the sensitivities generated by the mountain war on the one hand and by the constant mutual shelling between the Druze and Christian areas on the other hand.

[Question] Do you think that Dayr al-Qamar's experience is likely to spread to the other parts of the mountain or will any bloody future events confirm that Dayr al-Qamar is an isolated hostage?

[Answer] If a certain line is penetrated, if a Druze town is threatened and if a massacre is perpetrated in such a town, then Dayr al-Qamar will certainly be threatened. But we are currently living in Dayr al-Qamar and we are fully confident of the positions we take there, especially through an understanding with Walid Junblatt and the Druze sect by way of Junblatt.

[Question] Do we understand that there is a certain understanding between you and Walid Junblatt regarding Dayr al-Qamar?

[Answer] I am not saying this. War was imposed on Dayr al-Qamar but the town rejected it. All Dayr al-Qamar did was to receive the evacuees. Dayr al-Qamar knows its position in the mountain and it has preserved this position. What is important is that there be no hostility between individuals, this is all.

#### Return of Evacuees

[Question] The dossier of the evacuees' return to the mountain was opened months ago.

[Answer] You mean, I believe, the visit which ex-President Sham'un and I made to al-Mukhtarah.

[Question] Precisely.

[Answer] What I can say is that we understand the mountain situation because we are sons and citizens of al-Shuf. Throughout the first 7 years of the war, political action was at its best between ex-President Sham'un on the one hand and Kamal and Walid Junblatt on the other. There was a complete understanding on the need to safeguard coexistence in al-Shuf and not to transport battles to where people want to live in understanding and peace. Thus, we managed to get through the most difficult years of the war. But regrettably, some people "went up" to the mountain when they had no business being there.

[Question] But the "some" you are talking about were not present in the mountain in 1840 and 1860 and yet massacres were perpetrated. How do you explain this?

[Answer] Despite the massacres which occurred in 1820, 1840 and 1860 we were able to restore coexistence for more than a century until foreigners interfered in our affairs and divided us.

[Question] Your words hold Israel responsible for what has happened.

[Answer] I hold all the foreigners, without exception, responsible.

[Question] What phase has the issue of the evacuees' return reached?

[Answer] What I can say is that the situation will improve more and more with the further implementation of the security plans, meaning with the spread of legitimate Lebanese security in the provinces. But the return will be carefully

phased so that people who get along with each other may return prior to the return of the others and in order to regain confidence that the fighting has ended. The issue is not one of "holding one's head high," of "flying a flag" or of "honor." Nobody, not on the Christian side nor on the Druze side, has ever lived in the mountain "with a bowed head."

[Question] What are the priorities you will observe in returning the Christians to the mountain?

[Answer] Our talk about a phased return emanates from problems we are facing on the ground. There are demolished houses, there are evacuees living in the homes of evicted families and there is a lost trust which we must revive. You cannot return in the initial phase those who have been in conflict with their surroundings for the simple reason that you cannot guarantee the security of such people. Therefore, what is more important in our viewpoint is to restore the lost trust between Christians and Druze.

[Question] Do you think that the Christian will return to the mountain after all that has happened to him?

[Answer] I assure you that 75 percent of al-Shuf inhabitants who have lived in the mountain are prepared to revive the experience of political and social life with the Lebanese Druze.

[Question] When will this happen?

[Answer] We are awaiting the right time, provided that we do not encounter some factions hampering the return with obstructive theories and futile oneupmanship.

[Question] Then how do you interpret Minister Walid Junblatt's statements that "there will be no return of the evacuees" and that "the return has ended"?

[Answer] I don't know what motivated Walid to say what he said, keeping in mind that some Christians are still in the mountain until this hour.

#### Solution Is in Emergency Forces

[Question] How do you define the progress of al-Naqurah negotiations between Lebanon and Israel?

[Answer] It is certain that Israel will try to dictate most of the security conditions in the southern area as they are defined in the 17 May accord. But before concluding the said accord, we considered the truce agreement signed in 1949 the basis of every arrangement and condition in the south.

But now that we are suffering from the inadequate capability of the Lebanese army and considering that the UN emergency forces are present, it is my belief that the best means is to reach agreement with the United Nations to modify the mission of these forces in the south so that they may be able to support the Lebanese army and Lebanese security forces in maintaining security and establishing the state's sovereignty and authority in order that the south may

not again become a launching site of operations against Israel--operations that have only resulted in the invasion of the south and in evictions from the mountain and that have done the so-called Arab cause no good whatsoever.

[Question] Will Israel now agree to just this situation with Lebanon?

[Answer] I believe that Israel will currently accept this situation if it is guaranteed. It seems that Israel has come to the realization that Lebanon is incapable currently of normalizing the relationship with the state existing on its southern borders because Syria, which is hostile to Israel and is in a state of war with Israel, is present on Lebanon's northern and eastern borders, not to mention that the other Arab countries will not accept normalization. We are an Arab state that is a member of the Arab League and 75 percent of our trade and our life depend on dealing with the Arabs.

[Question] Then on what basis did you visit Israel?

[Answer] I went to Israel in an attempt to avert the events which occurred in the mountain. Regrettably, I failed to prevent the eviction of most of the mountain's inhabitants. However, I did succeed in the issue of Dayr al-Qamar and I now consider my mission a success.

[Question] Does the credit for the non-invasion of Dayr al-Qamar [presumably by Druze] go to your efforts in Israel?

[Answer] Right.

[Question] Does this mean, consequently, that you hold Israel responsible for the evictions from the other villages and towns?

[Answer] You cannot hold Israel alone responsible for all that has happened. I say that the failure to ratify the 17 May accord and to reach an understanding with Israel on withdrawal from the mountain led to the massacres. I do not completely absolve Israel. As an occupying state, Israel is responsible for its failure to prevent any fighting and the presence of any combatants in the mountain.

#### Border Strip Forces

[Question] It is well known that you have had a firm relationship with the border strip, through Maj Sa'd Haddad at the outset of the war and now through Maj Gen Antoine Lahd, Sa'd's successor. On what basis is this relationship founded?

[Answer] In his life, Sa'd Haddad protected the inhabitants of the border strip and defended their lives and homes. In his own way, Antoine Lahd is protecting the Lebanese. The border strip forces include Christians, Muslims and Druze who are convinced that what they are doing is aimed at preventing sectarian internecine fighting in the area and at supporting the internal security forces in controlling security in the area.

[Question] Some accuse Maj Gen Antoine Lahd and his forces of being a puppet manipulated by Israel. How realistic is this accusation?

[Answer] I wish people could know the real Antoine Lahd, the genuine Lebanese who has defended numerous Lebanese positions during his service in the Lebanese army and afterwards. Antoine Lahd cannot permit himself to be Israel's or anybody else's puppet.

[Question] What is the nature of the relationship you have with Maj Gen Antoine Lahd?

[Answer] There are supporters of the National Liberal Party in the south and this is why there is political coordination between us. As for the military sphere, we have no role in this area, not only in the border strip but in all parts of Lebanon. However, we are exerting our utmost efforts to prevent the formation of a "Shi'ite national guard, a Christian national guard and a Druze national guard," especially since these militias can, if they continue to exist, lead to sectarian wars after the Israeli withdrawal. Accordingly, we have asked Maj Gen Antoine Lahd to proceed to the border strip. In this regard, his action focuses on protecting the real Lebanese presence and the presence of the national institutions.

Israel and Syria

[Question] What, in your opinion, does Israel want from Lebanon?

[Answer] Israel wishes to normalize relations with Lebanon and to enter the Arab market through Lebanon.

[Question] And what does Syria want from Lebanon?

[Answer] For a long time, Syria has been experiencing problems in dealing with Lebanon: first, Syria suffers from a Lebanon that is independent in its foreign policy opinions; second, from a Lebanon that has become a political asylum for Syrians opposed to the regime; third, from a Lebanon that has become a haven for Syrian draft dodgers; and, fourth, from a Lebanon that has become a source for smuggling weapons used against the present regime in Syria.

Therefore, it can be said on the basis of past dealings with the Syrians that these are the issues that concern Syria and that motivate Syria's policy in Lebanon.

## Palestinians

[Question] How do you view the return of Palestinians to Beirut and does this return forewarn of a bloody future resulting from the conflict between 'Arafat's supporters and opponents?

[Answer] In any case, I believe that the Palestinians tried to use weapons until 1982. I hope that they will not try this approach again. I believe that it is a big mistake if some Lebanese contribute to the armed Palestinians' return to Lebanon because this Lebanese faction will ultimately pay the price.

[Question] The leaderships of West Beirut are unanimous that the situation in this area has become highly uncontrollable, especially from the security aspect. Do you see the omen of certain developments in the horizon?

[Answer] The security problem in West Beirut can be solved only if the political leaderships expose every armed and trouble-making element so that the security forces may be able to perform their task of preventing thefts, crimes and kidnappings. Are these leaderships prepared to do so?

## Relationship with Phalange

[Question] The relationship between the National Liberals and the Phalange has gone through numerous phases since 1975, with some of these phases characterized by a strong alliance and others by political tepidity accompanied by bloody events at times. How do you characterize the relationship between the two parties at present?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the relationship between the Phalange and the Liberals is becoming more and more mature with the passage of time and that it is moving in the direction of eliminating past differences. In any case, we have no militia and this fact comforts us as National Liberals because we have suffered heavily from the militias.

As for the main political issue, namely reform action through the committees appointed by the cabinet, there is profound cooperation, coordination and discussion with the Phalanges in order to attain solutions that serve the interests of the Lebanese. I have noticed that with every stride our cooperation makes, the easier the action becomes and the clearer the issues turn.

[Question] To follow up on the question regarding your relationship with the Phalanges, let me ask Dani Shām'un about his relationship with President al-Jumayyil.

[Answer] I have been asked this question repeatedly. Let me stress that I will not disagree with the president of the republic. He is my friend and anybody speaking of tepidity in the relationship between me and President al-Jumayyil is only expressing his own opinion. My opinion, President al-Jumayyil's opinion and the reality are in full contrast with such statements of tepidity.

[Question] What about the nature of the relationship between you and the Lebanese Forces?

[Answer] There are meetings between us and we have top-level representatives in the Lebanese Forces. It is well known that the Forces' deputy commander is a National Liberal. We also have a representative in the Command Council.

[Question] Does this mean that you have been in agreement with every step taken by the Lebanese Forces?

[Answer] With the exception of the mountain war.

[Question] And why didn't you withdraw your representatives?

[Answer] By not withdrawing our representatives, we tried to alleviate the intensity of the battle.

[Question] And what about al-Kharrub District battle?

[Answer] We believe that the district battle was imposed on the district after what had happened in the mountain and after the army's defeat in Western al-Shahhar.

[Question] What are the red lines on whose basis you reject or approve military action carried out by the Lebanese Forces?

[Answer] That the battle not be against any Lebanese, be it Amal Movement, the Socialist Party or others.

Franjiyah

[Question] The eastern provinces' relationship with the north has passed through certain phases of tension. How do you view the current relationship between the Lebanese Front and the Liberal Party and ex-President Franjiyah?

[Answer] The Lebanese Front and its chairman, ex-President Sham'un, have not had a disagreement with ex-President Franjiyah. We thank God that our relationship with President Franjiyah has remained unchanged since he was the country's president. It is a relationship founded on trust and cooperation.

[Question] Proceeding on the basis of this reality, is the Liberal Party mediating to bring the Phalanges and ex-President Franjiyah closer to each other?

[Answer] We did engage in such mediation in the past. But now the president of the republic is performing it. According to our information, relations have been at their best between President Amin al-Jumayyil and ex-President Sulayman Franjiyah.

Reform

[Question] Regarding reform of the Lebanese system, do you believe that such a reform is possible under the canopy of the existing circumstances and of each faction's clinging to its intransigent positions?

[Answer] I don't believe that there will be a solution in Lebanon without reforming the Lebanese structure which has been eroded. Our various institutions were not structured in such a way as to permit them to absorb any change. If we want to succeed as a homeland and as a people, then all we have to do is to introduce fundamental and profound reforms that permit us to rebuild our homeland. It is my opinion that the 1943 charter is incapable of accommodating a new Lebanon. This is impossible because it is a charter that has not given the people the guarantees required of a government and of a regime, even in the distribution of positions which some call sectarian rights or gains. I cannot imagine how the appointment of one or more persons can reflect on the people's welfare and standard of living, which are the real gains for every sect.

All that the 1943 charter did was to create the actual partition of the government and constant conflict and confrontation in it. The 1943 charter has not protected the Lebanese from thefts, murders and beatings. All it has produced are pledges of allegiance among the politicians at the expense of the people.

[Question] What is the alternative you propose?

[Answer] We have proposed several alternatives. In my opinion, any formula guaranteeing that no injustice be done any faction through preservation of the sectarian formalities in the top positions is the alternative.

[Question] Plans ranging from administrative decentralization to the system of cantons are being projected nowadays.

[Answer] I believe that the ideal formula lies in expanded administrative decentralization with central security primarily and local security under the governor's control and with the governor's position strengthened so that he may perform a serious role in protecting his area's security and in managing its affairs.

I also believe that the U.S. system of Senate and House of Representatives, which permits committees to question cabinet ministers before they assume their duties, is necessary. This is in addition to the Senate's role in approving the president's decisions.

To put it briefly, it is my personal opinion that the U.S. system, with some modifications, is the best system to be applied in Lebanon. As for the appointment of civil servants, I propose that the senate have control over such appointments in order that the situation may not continue to be as it is, with the appointments made according to the disposition of some people.

[Question] Do your words mean criticism of the appointments made recently?

[Answer] I am criticizing the system that has been followed for decades and not criticizing individuals. I am against the system of political pledges of allegiance at the expense of the right man in the right position, especially since the politicians have come to govern the people, not dominate them.

8494

CSO: 4404/209



LEBANON

NEW JOINT-VENTURE BUSINESS MAGAZINE PUBLISHED

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic Jan 85 p 8

[Article: "AL-A'MAL, First Edition"]

[Text] The first edition of AL-A'Mal has been published in Arabic. With this issue, AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL begins implementing its agreement with the British FINANCIAL TIMES Management which provides for issuing a semi-monthly information bulletin dealing with business affairs in all the Arab countries.

This agreement was concluded between the two establishments at the FINANCIAL TIMES premises in London in February 1984. The FINANCIAL TIMES was represented by Peter (Sabine), the company's director of publications, and AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL was represented by Ra'uf Abu Zaki, the company's general director.

Why this business publication?

First, the fact that the publication is semi-monthly will give the subscriber the opportunity to familiarize himself with information that cannot be supplied by AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL with the desired speed.

Second, the fact that distribution of the publication is confined to a select and relatively limited group of subscribers will give us the opportunity to include in it some precise and special information that is impossible to publish in AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL, which is distributed and circulated on a larger scale, whether among subscribers or bookshops.

Third, our agreement with the FINANCIAL TIMES-MIDEAST MARKET will provide the publication with additional material unavailable to AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL.

Fourth, the publication could, of course, have taken the form of a periodic "newsletter" issued by AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL alone in a manner similar to what is done by most of the specialized international magazines. But the inexperience of the Arab markets with specialized Arab information and the youth of AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL itself in this field, as well as other factors, have motivated us to seek to secure a well-established and reliable additional source of information embodied in the FINANCIAL TIMES-MIDEAST MARKET so that our effort may be complete and may serve the select group of readers in our sphere of specialization.

Why publish it in Arabic?

It has been customary for such publications to be in a foreign language, particularly English, even if they are Arab in origin and tendency. However, we have found it necessary to publish it in Arabic because the Arab reader, who is the basis of our circulation, lacks a publication of the sort. The need for an Arabic-language publication becomes obvious with the growing phenomenon of "Arabizing" the decisions of Arab economic establishments as a result of the Arabization of the managements of these establishments. There are the phenomena of Saudization, Jordanization, Kuwaitization, Egyptianization and so forth. The Arab decision makers prefer to peruse information in Arabic for considerations on which we need not dwell. This is normal. As for the foreign circles wishing to obtain Arab information, there are numerous such sources. But they are still inadequate. Therefore, we, in our turn, are trying to supply these circles in the near future, God willing, with an additional source by summarizing the contents of the publication and distributing it to these circles in the light of a carefully selected list.

Finally, the fact that this publication is the outcome of a joint and coordinated effort between AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL and the FINANCIAL TIMES MIDEAST MARKET gives the publication the opportunity to benefit from the strengths of both establishments.

8494

CSO: 4404/209

LEBANON

BRIEFS

ARMY CALLS ON MEDIA--The media has been scooping news without first verifying it. Since we are passing through a very critical phase, in which rumors are plentiful and a mixture of false and true reports causing chaos among the people, we wish the media to verify the news before broadcasting it. The guidance directorate will provide the media with true and accurate news for the people to follow. [Statement issued by the Army Command Guidance Directorate on 16 February] [Text] [Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 0955 GMT 16 Feb 85 NC]

CSO: 4400/94

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

BRIEFS

TRADE VOLUME--Dubayy, 3 Feb (WAKH)--Volume of trade in the UAE through Dubayy during the first 10 months of 1984 increased considerably. Trade value totalled 16.2 billion dirhams. Of this amount, imports accounted for 14.5 billion dirhams while the remaining amount was for exports. A statistical report released by the customs and ports department in Dubayy today indicated that cars topped the list of imports during this period followed by industrialized commodities. [Summary] [Manama WAKH in Arabic 0747 GMT 3 Feb 85 GF]

PRC OFFERING SCHOLARSHIPS--Abu Dhabi, 10 Feb (WAM)--The PRC Government has granted two scholarships to UAE students to study the Chinese language for one scholastic year, 1985-86. The PRC Government will cover all expenses except travel expenses. The UAE Ministry of Education today received a memorandum from UNESCO to this effect, asking it to nominate two UAE students before 31 March. [Text] [Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic 1730 GMT 10 Feb 85 GF]

DUBAYY AIRPORT TRAFFIC--The number of passengers passing through Dubayy airport in January 1984 was 4.98 percent greater than in January 1983. The quantity of air freight increased by 5.69 percent during the same period. These statistics are from the Dubai Department of Civil Aviation. [Summary] [Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 9 Feb 85 p 2 GF]

ECONOMIC AGREEMENT WITH GDR--Dubayy, 10 Feb (WAKH)--A GDR trade delegation currently visiting the UAE has signed an economic cooperation agreement with the Dubayy Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The agreement aims at developing trade relations and exchanging economic information and visits by delegations and businessmen between the two countries. [Excerpt] [Manama WAKH in Arabic 0920 GMT 10 Feb 85 GF]

JABAL 'ALI PORT TRAFFIC--Jabal 'Ali Port in Dubai achieved record figures in its activity during 1984. These figures are the first of their kind since the port began operations. In comparison with 1983, the total traffic of goods in the port increased by 50 percent; traffic in re-exporting from the free zone at the port increased by 624 percent; and cold storage operations increased by 253 percent. [Excerpt] [Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 3 Mar 85 p 2 GF]

BILATERAL EXCHANGES DISCUSSED--Abu Dhabi, 10 Feb (WAKH)--'Abdallah al-Muhayri, first vice president of the board of directors of the Abu Dhabi Chamber of Commerce and Industry, today met with Hans-Joachim Le Mitzner, general director of the technical services and construction department at the GDR foreign trade enterprises, and the delegation accompanying him, currently visiting the UAE. During the meeting, both sides reviewed trade and economic relations between the UAE and the GDR and emphasized the need for the exchange of trade, visits, exhibitions and expertise between businessmen in the two countries. The GDR official noted the importance of holding trade exhibitions in the two countries, affirming their role in promoting products and boosting trade exchange which will open new horizons of cooperation. The GDR delegation signed a protocol for economic and trade cooperation with the Dubai Chamber of Commerce and Industry to exchange information on industry cooperation, promotion and setting up joint enterprises in other countries. The third GDR exhibition was opened yesterday at the Dubai Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The exhibition contains products from 12 commercial establishments. [Text] [Manama WAKH in Arabic 1755 GMT 10 Feb 85 GF]

JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN AGREEMENT DOUBTED--Well informed Palestinian and Jordanian sources told AL-BAYAN about their doubts on the possible success of the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement on the practical level. These sources said that the agreement is merely an accumulation of a number of previous articles and initiatives. These sources went on to say that these articles and initiatives were amassed in one basket and that the United States is not expected to be more interested in this than its interest in UN Resolution 242--which the PLO has been drawn closer to more than ever according to the agreement. These sources added that King Husayn has got a number of goals through this agreement among which is to move the Arab political situation in addition to getting rid of the U.S. pressures which persist on him to get involved in direct negotiations with Israel. [Excerpt] [Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 14 Feb 85 pp 1, 16 GF]

IRAN GOODS STORAGE ARRANGEMENT--Local merchants exporting and re-exporting to Iran and traders in Iran who depend on supplies from this side of the Gulf will benefit from a decision by the Iranian Government to fix time limit for storage of goods at points of entry. Goods imported into Iran could be stored for four months in customs sheds in Iran. This has been communicated by the Foreign Ministry in Tehran to the Dubai Chamber of Commerce and Industry. In exceptional cases, at the request of consignees, this time limit could be extended by another 4 months. The letter from the ministry said legal action would be taken if goods were left in warehouses beyond this period. Tehran's action is expected to streamline movement of goods across the border, especially at a time when exports and re-exports from Dubai to Iran are picking up. [Text] [Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 14 Feb 85 p 13 GF]

AID TO SUDAN CRITICIZED--Abu Dhabi, 19 Feb (WAM)--The UAE newspaper AL-ITTIHAD has stressed that the aid that is not based on the principles of mutual respect and noninterference in internal affairs of the other countries implies imposition of subordination and hegemony on small countries. This strips the aid of mirroring friendship and international cooperation. This, on the contrary, chains the national sovereignty. Commenting today on the U.S. decision to cut

back economic aid to the Sudan because the U.S. Government is not satisfied with the measures adopted by the Sudanese Government to correct the economic course the paper said: "This decision reveals an explicit admission by the United States that its economic aid to other countries is merely conditional aid and that it is subject to what Washington wants to attain with regard to its foreign policy." Concluding, AL-ITTIHAD said that the decision undertaken by the Reagan administration worried all the Arab countries--whether this be the friendly countries like Egypt or the countries with whom there are differences like Libya. [From the press review] [Excerpts] [Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic 0630 GMT 19 Feb 85 GF]

COASTS HAVE NEW OIL SLICK--Abu Dhabi, 24 Feb (WAKH)--A number of oil slicks appeared at the Ra's al-Khaymah Emirate coasts stretching between 25 to 30 kilometers. An environment protection committee recommended that the Ras al-Khaymah municipality would bury the oil slicks in sand away from the beach. Director of Ra's al-Khaymah municipality in an interview published Sunday in the UAE daily AL-ITTIHAD said a lab test will take place here today to determine components of the slicks that could be the refuse of ships passing in the region. The oil slicks prevented fishing in the region similar to what took place in the same area last month. The authorities decided to warn ships sailing in the area against dumping their refuse near the coast. [Text] [Manama WAKH in English 1540 GMT 24 Feb 85 GF]

ABU DHABI AIRPORT EXPANSION--Abu Dhabi, 2 March (WAKH)--Expansion is underway at Abu Dhabi International Airport to meet the increase of flights in the upcoming years. The UAE daily--AL-ITTIHAD--quoted director of Abu Dhabi airport Sa'id al-Falahi as saying new equipment and electronic apparatus will be installed to enable the airport to function efficiently in abnormal conditions. The expansion also includes a new aircraft maintenance workshop at a cost of 250 million dirhams. The UAE will bear 60 percent of the cost, while the remainder will be borne by Gulf Air. The airport will also be provided with an auto landing system to guide aircraft in during fogs. The system is the first of its kind in the region. [Text] [Manama WAKH in English 1505 GMT 2 Mar 85 GF]

CSO: 4400/94

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION GIVEN ON NEW PRIME MINISTER

Aden AL-THAWRI in Arabic 16 Feb 85 p 10

[Article: "Comrade Haydar Abu-Bakr al-'Attas, Member of the Politburo, Prime Minister"]

[Text]



Born 1939.

Married with three children.

Received a bachelor's degree in electrical engineering.

Appointed minister of public works and transportation in 1969 and minister of installations in 1977.

He was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Political Organization-National Front in 1972 and elected a member of the Central Committee at the first congress of the Yemeni Socialist Party in 1978. He was reelected to the Central Committee at the emergency congress in 1980.

He has received a number of decorations including the badge of independence and the badge of loyalty in the first degree, the badge of honor from the Soviet Union, the order of (Armando Mestre) from Cuba, the jubilee gold medal on the 100th anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov [Bulgaria], and the order of the national flag in the second degree from the socialist Republic of Cuba.

He was elected a member of the Politburo at the 14th session of the Central Committee and elected a member of the Presidium and prime minister at the 19th session of the Supreme People's Council.

25 March 1985

## YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

## BRIEFS

WATER EXPLORATION--A Dutch engineering consultancy has obtained a contract worth 11 million Yemeni riyals (approximately \$1.9 million) to prepare a study of the Tihamah plain's ground water reserves. The company will prepare the study in cooperation with an official Dutch institution which specializes in exploring for ground water, and the government will cover expenses of the contract. The Tihamah Development Organization, part of the YAR Ministry of Agriculture, contracted for the study for a period of 3 years divided into two stages. The first stage comprises a survey of the water resources in the Tihamah plain, which covers 20,000 square km. The second stage consists of monitoring the modern irrigation systems that feed the Wadi Rama and Wadi Zubayd projects in order to improve the water distribution systems and agricultural production in the region. This Dutch company is currently involved in two other projects in the YAR, one to prepare a study of livestock raising in the Dhamar region and the other to help the Supreme Council rebuild the areas damaged during the earthquake under a project financed by the Dutch Government, the European Common Market and the American Agency for International Development. /Text/ /London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 4 Jan 85 p 52/ 9882

CSO: 4404/182



AFGHANISTAN

MUJAHIDIN COMMANDER SENTENCED BY REVOLUTIONARY COURT

Kuching THE BORNEO POST in English 3 Feb 85 p 4

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Sat.- A Revolutionary Court in Afghanistan has sentenced a guerrilla commander to death in the eastern province of Paktia bordering Pakistan, the official Kabul radio reported.

It identified him as Khan Gul and said he belong to the Pakistan-based Hezb-I-Islami guerrilla led by Mohammad Yunis Khalis.

Gul was charged with fighting against the state, killing people and looting their properties. He was tried in the Paktia town of Khost, the radio said on Monday night, without giving a date.

Another Hezb-I-Islami guerrilla commander, Qari Abdus Samad, was killed in a battle with Soviet troops last Monday in the Shinwar area of the adjoining Nangarhar province, guerrilla sources said yesterday.

The radio said the death sentence on Gul would be carried out after approval by the presidium of the ruling Revolutionary Council headed by President Babrak Karmal.

Hezb-I-Islami sources said Samad died with three other guerrillas while fighting a Soviet unit which had bombed and surrounded the Siah Cho village where the guerrillas have their hideout.

They said the Soviet troops killed 18 villagers.

The Soviet troops had been seeking Samad since his men killed the Afghan government militia commander in the area last month, the sources said.

CSO: 4600/324-E

25 March 1985

## AFGHANISTAN

## SIXTY SOVIETS REPORTEDLY SLAIN IN MUJAHIDIN AMBUSH

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 13 Feb 85 p 16

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Tues. -- Muslim fighters ambushed a Soviet military convoy in southeastern Afghanistan, killing as many as 60 soldiers, Western diplomatic sources reported today.

Meanwhile, at least 34 people were killed in rocket attacks on two Kabul hospitals by anti-Marxist Afghan fighters, according to the sources.

One of the two reports from Kabul said 40 Soviet troops were wounded or killed in another Mujahid attack on Feb. 1 at Karazemir, near the strategic Panjshir Valley, northeast of the Afghan capital.

About 30 Afghan patients were killed or wounded in a recent Mujahid attack on the Academy of Sciences Hospital in Kabul, one dispatch said. The hospital normally treats only Afghan ruling party and army officials.

According to the same report, four Russians were killed in another Mujahid rocket attack on the Soviet military Hospital at Sharara, in Kabul.

Meanwhile, flares dropped by Soviet Antonov-12 transport planes sparked grass fires on the lawns of the US and West German embassies in the Afghan capital, the diplomats said.

The flares caused other minor damage last Sunday in the American Embassy, located behind state-run Radio Afghanistan. Flares fell on Feb. 3 and 5 in the compound of the West German embassy, situated in another part of the Wazir Akbar Khan diplomatic district.

Soviet and Afghan planes have been firing flares while taking off and landing to prevent

any Mujahid-fired heat-seeking missiles from hitting them. The practice began last year after a US-built DC-10 jetliner of the Government-run Afghan Ariana Airlines was hit by a Mujahid-fired rocket and made a crash-landing.

Meanwhile, a Soviet transport plane crashed last Wednesday near Kabul airport, the sources said. It was not immediately known if the aircraft had been hit by a Mujahid missile.

The diplomats said Mujahids downed two helicopters and two planes the past week in fierce

Afghanistan in December 1979.

Soviet bombardment of the hillside town of Istalif in the Panjshir for four consecutive days last week caused heavy civilian casualties and triggered a new exodus of refugees to Kabul, the diplomatic reports said.

The Muslim fighters, or *mujahids*, control the upper, more rugged part of the Panjshir, which controls vital supply lines in northern Afghanistan. After being ousted from their positions last summer, the mujahids regrouped under the leadership of Ahmad Shah Masoud and recaptured the towns of Safarchin, Pa'in, Ayur, Khenj, Dashte, Rewat and Kahwak.

fighting in the central Afghan province of Wardak. The reported attacks occurred at Maidanshahr, southwest of Kabul.

Heavy fighting, meanwhile, flared anew in the 160km-long gorge last week as Soviet and Kabul Government reinforcements arrived there in preparation for a major spring offensive, diplomats said.

The offensive, expected to start in March after the snow melts from the mountainsides, would be the ninth Soviet assault in the area since Moscow militarily intervened in

The Soviets wrested control of Pishkor in fierce fighting, installed a unit of the Kabul regime's army there and withdrew south, said the sources.

Eight Kabul regime soldiers were killed on Feb 3 when mujahids raided their post at Shehardara, near Pishkor.

CSO: 4600/326-E

AFGHANISTAN

CIVILIANS 'MARTYRED' IN RETALIATION

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 27 Feb 85 pp 1-2

[Text]

NEW DELHI, India, Feb. 26 (Dispatches) — Soviet troops in Afghanistan have martyred hundreds of civilians this month while losing four helicopters and an armored personnel carrier, Western diplomatic sources reported Tuesday.

At the same time, the Soviet-backed Afghan army has begun drafting young men from prison to fill its shrinking ranks, said the sources, who briefed reporters on condition they not be identified by name or nationality.

According to one unconfirmed report, 480 civilians were massacred earlier this month at Chahardara town in the northern province of Kunduz, which borders the Soviet Union.

The killings may have been in retaliation for land mine attacks on high-ranking Soviet soldiers by the Mujahideen one diplomatic report said.

Another report said "several hundred" civilians were martyred Chahardara on Feb. 2 or Feb. 3.

The diplomats quoted "one good Afghan source" as reporting that several hundred civilians were also martyred by bombs and artillery

fire during a Soviet sweep over the past 10 days in Pagman, a popular summer resort just west of the capital Kabul.

The Soviet troops looted homes of food and valuables while looking for the freedom fighters the report said.

Soviet forces entered Afghanistan in December 1979, ousted one Communist government and installed another headed by President Babrak Karmal. Since then, the Muslim freedom fighters have been fighting Afghan troops and a Soviet force estimated to number anywhere from 75,000 to 140,000.

An undetermined number of civilian casualties were also reported during a punitive Soviet raid in the past two weeks near Lalandar village west of Kabul, a frequent staging ground for Mujahideen rocket attacks on Soviet and Afghan military positions.

Within the past week to 10 days, the Mujahideen have brought down four Soviet and two Afghan helicopters, the diplomats said. As a result, Soviet aircraft are taking added precautions against heat-seeking missiles, firing dozens of flares on takeoff and landing at the Kabul Airport, they said

#### Biggest Assault in Kabul

On the night of Feb. 22, the Mujahideen attacked the Kabul Airport in their biggest assault in the capital this year, the sources reported.

The Mujahideen hit Soviet positions for one hour with rockets, mortars and machine guns, lighting the skies with illumination flares and tracer rounds. Soviet troops responded with artillery and tank fire. There were no reports of damage to the runway or aircraft.

The next morning, a Soviet armored personnel carrier guarding radio Afghanistan caught fire while the soldiers were lighting a small blaze to keep warm or heat tea, the diplomats said.

Four to six Soviet soldiers were reported killed when the ammunition, including more than 20 cannon shells and thousands of machine gun shells, exploded for 30 minutes, causing panic in the capital. Flying shrapnel shattered windows and even hit the U.S. Embassy several hundred yards (meters) away, the reports said.

The Afghan media said the blast was set off by an electrical short circuit and claimed there were no casualties.

#### Fate Worse Than Death

According to reports from Kabul, young men from the Pul-e-Sharki Prison are being drafted to fill the depleted ranks of the conscript army. They are being sent to fight in Kandahar, Afghanistan's besieged second largest city, in what is considered a fate worse than death, the diplomats said.

With fighting in Kabul on the rise last week, security was tightened and few if any Soviets were seen shopping, the diplomats said. There were reports that anonymous posters appeared in the capital, warning of fresh attacks on the anniversary of the 1980 massacre of young Afghan schoolgirls by Soviet troops.

An office of the Khad secret police was hit by three rockets last week, but there were no details on damage or casualties.

Heavy fighting was reported at the southern exit of the Salang Pass a key supply line between Kabul and the Soviet Union. A bus was forced to spend the night inside the pass on Feb. 16 while Soviet soldiers looted money from the passengers, the diplomats said.

IRAN

MINISTER OF HEAVY INDUSTRIES DISCUSSES FOREIGN RELATIONS

GF281400 London KEYHAN in Persian 14 Feb 84 p 2

[Text] Tehran--Behzad Nabavi, minister of heavy industries, in a radio and television press conference, while giving details of expanding economic relations with Turkey and the revival of the Regional Cooperation for Development Organization, spoke on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. He said: There is no reason why we, despite our particular specialities, should not have relations with countries which do not oppose us. We cannot construct a wall around us and become totally isolated from the rest of the world. Except for a few countries with whom we have severed relations, we do not see any hindrance in setting up relations with other countries.

Nabavi said: There are more than 100 countries with whom we have no political differences and maintain relations with. We have the best of trade relations with Turkey and Pakistan and we also maintain relations with the Soviet Union to the extent possible. In many cases the Soviet Union has not dealt with us in a proper manner. They wanted to buy our goods at very cheap prices and this compelled us to cut our exports of gas to them. Nabavi said: Problems also exist with two of our neighboring countries--Iraq and Afghanistan. The former is at war with us and the latter is at war with Muslims and thus would appear to be fighting against us. It is for these reasons that we have no economic relations with these two countries. However, our trade relations with Turkey, which is a member of NATO, have risen from \$30 million to \$3 billion.

CSO: 4640/442

IRAN

# HEALTH MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON VARIOUS ISSUES

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 16 Dec 84 p 2

[Interview with Dr Marandi; place and date not specified]

[Text] In an interview with our reporter, Dr Marandi, the minister of health, discussed the Public Health-Care Project, the Generic Drugs Project, the shortage of medicine, the shortage of hospital beds, and the training of medical and health-care personnel for the country's hospitals.

First, talking about the Public Health-Care Project and the Rural-Physician Project, the minister of health stated, "The fact is presently the population of our country is about 42 million and--according to the statistics of the World Health Organization--it has one of the youngest populations in the world, a fact caused by the rapid population growth.

The minimum requirement at the present time is one physician for every 1,000 citizens. This means that we must have 42,000 physicians. Our records show that, on the whole, we have between 12,000 to 13,000 physicians. Of course, this statistic includes physicians who have left the country and will not return, retired physicians, or physicians who are engaged in planning projects and military affairs. The greater concentration of these physicians is in Tehran and in the seat of the provinces respectively. This ratio is reduced by an extraordinary measure in small cities and in rural areas. In some parts, the ratio of physicians to the population is reduced to one physician to several thousand or even 10,000 people.

Therefore, we have a compelling need for physicians, and the only way to resolve this problem is to increase the number of medical students and to provide more extensive training. This task, of course, is not solely the responsibility of the Ministry of Health; rather, the prime responsibility in this respect is that of the Ministry of Education and Training. Nonetheless, in the past 3 months since I have been at this ministry, we have had some meetings with university professors and officials at the Ministry of Education and Training. In the meantime, several medical societies--among them the Iranian Children's Society and the Iranian Women's Society--have formed a central council called the Central Council for the Professional Societies of Iran. We also have weekly meetings with this council in order to develop certain plans. However, until such time when our goals of increasing the number of medical students and the training of instructors

are achieved, we are considering the short-range program to train the rural-physician--who would be an individual receiving from 2 to 4 years of training--not at the level of a physician. Since we are confronted with the shortage of university teachers, this task (the training of the rural-physician) will be delegated to institutions at a lower level than medical colleges. Additionally, according to legislation by the Islamic Majlis, we have begun, as of 23 September, to train Hygiene and Family Technicians, as well as technicians for combating diseases. The training of these technicians will be conducted in various cities after consideration of preliminary aspects of their medical questions [as published].

He continued, "According to the directive by the Cabinet, the Supreme Council for Policy Making in Hygiene and Treatment and Medical Education has been created--whose membership includes the minister of education and training, the minister of health, two physicians who are Majlis deputies and who are appointed by the speaker of the Islamic Majlis, two judges, and Dr Velayati, himself a physician. The council started working 2 weeks ago.

Concerning the Generic Drug Project and the steps taken in the country toward improving the medicine situation, Dr Marandi said, "After the revolution, in an attempt to free ourselves from the commercial aspects of medicine, a system of generic drugs was to be considered. This idea was unprecedented in its own genre in the world; even West Germany and Turkey were interested in obtaining more information about the proposed project. Nonetheless, as multinational manufacturers of drugs--whose interests were threatened--opposed the project, and because at that time our country was subjected to economic sanctions (and contrary to their claims, the drug-producing countries refused to sell us medicine), to meet our needs, we were forced to buy medicine from other drug-producing countries--where the quality of the manufactured medicine was low. Of course, thank God, presently, these manufacturers have been defeated in their campaign of opposing the Generic Drug Project and are now willing to sell us medicine based on our specifications.

Talking about the shortages of some drugs, the minister of health stated, "We manufacture about two-thirds of the needed medicine ourselves, but we must import the rest from abroad. Of course, we are not able to produce the raw materials--a problem about which the Bureau of Drug Distribution has taken some steps--steps which are in the preliminary stages still. As our policy is to avoid waste, we study--as much as possible--the needs of the country and place our orders with domestic and foreign manufacturers of drugs. This prevents wasting of currency. Unfortunately, however, sometimes during a wide-spread occurrence of a disease, the need for a given drug is increased, hence this drug becomes scarce, or sometimes there are problems in the distribution network of drugs, causing shortages in the drug supply. For example, the company which has the responsibility for the distribution of drugs is not able, for reasons of internal problems or other difficulties, to expeditiously enough distribute the drugs--despite their availability--in farthest parts of the country. These are the kinds of problems which cause shortages of drugs; problems that cannot be resolved at the present time because if we decide to order more drugs than the anticipated need--just so as to prevent a shortage in case of greater need--we must send out of the country a greater amount of currency--currency which is needed inside the country; and we cannot do this.

About the outbreak of certain diseases, such as Malaria, the Aleppo Boil, etc., Dr Marandi added, "Before many of these diseases had been relatively eradicated, but unfortunately they are now once again spreading due to certain causes, such as shortages in (manpower) and various resources to eradicate such diseases as Malaria. From the outset of the revolution, we were faced with the shortage of cars. However, now some automobiles have been provided and will be given to health officials. I hope that effective steps are taken to eradicate this disease. Another problem, unfortunately, is the Afghan immigrants who bring with them as souvenirs, such diseases as tuberculosis, and various types of cholera. When these Afghan immigrants enter our country, they are given a medical examination and if they are found to be ill, they are treated. Unfortunately, sometimes by the time the medical laboratory detects the disease in an individual, we find, upon trying to contact him, that he has either moved away or had given a wrong address; and this afflicted individual becomes an agent in spreading the disease. Also, there are those Afghan immigrants who enter the country illegally and thus are not examined. This is a problem about which some action has been taken recently, and efforts have been coordinated with the relevant people in charge in an attempt to exercise greater control over such individuals. Nonetheless, it is our religious and Islamic duty to welcome these immigrants--as they have an "affiliated" government.

With respect to the observance of cleanliness and hygiene in hospitals, he remarked, "Basically, we do not observe these rules in our personal and social lives. For example, we deposit our trash in the street or in the street waterways and pollute everywhere even the hospitals.

If we pay close attention, especially after the visitors to a patient have left the hospital, we find that they do not observe cleanliness; whereas they themselves should observe such rules. It should not be necessary to have someone at all times to clean up after them. Of course, in some hospitals, the staff itself pays less attention to hygiene and cleanliness--a problem about which responsible officials of the hospital have received emphatic instructions. We have also taken some steps toward improving public hygiene at various levels of society--including rounding up stray dogs, whose numbers have become fewer. However, the main problem is accumulation of trash in the streets of the cities. This trash is the best food source for disease-carrying animals and insects. Through these animals and insects a variety of microbes for various diseases, such as Typhoid Fever, and various types of Cholera, and others are spread. God willing, this problem will be resolved as soon as possible with the help of all the relevant officials--such as the City Hall. If the City Hall strives to clean up the trash expeditiously throughout the city, the existing enormous food source for these disease-carrying animals will be eliminated, adding as well to the cleanliness of the city.

Continuing his remarks Dr Marandi addressed the question of the reciprocal conduct of the hospital staff and the public, "The question of how people interact and treat each other is not a question which could be resolved through one or two directives; rather, it is a human problem. The hospital staff--ranging from the doctors and nurses to the guards--are all doing their



utmost toward improving the patient's condition and making him, as well as, his family satisfied. Because of shortage of personnel, some of these people even work several consecutive shifts, but unfortunately some of the patients, or those who accompany them, display an un-Islamic and inappropriate conduct toward the medical staff without regard for these problems. This attitude causes extreme discouragement and dissatisfaction among this hardworking segment of society. The people do not realize that these individuals (the medical staff)--despite all existing hardships, such as low salaries, housing problems, etc.--continue to strive day and night to save the patients' lives. When we are comfortably sleeping at home, these beloved people are treating our wounded brothers in all the war fronts under the reverberation of cannons and mortar shells. Of course, I must also point out that in every segment of society there is good and there is bad; and some of these people (within the medical community) who sometimes, God forbid, have an improper attitude toward the patient or the people who are with him, cannot be a true representative of this active and hard-working sector of society.

Concerning efforts that have been made to promote the welfare of the medical profession, the minister of health stated, "We consider the medical cadre truly deserving of greater advantages and higher salaries. However, since this problem (hardship experienced by the medical segment) exists at other ministries as well, we cannot act alone. Moreover, insufficient allocations and existing restrictions are added deterrents.

According to existing statistics, in the past 10 years, the cost of housing has gone up 10 times, the cost of clothing 5 times, and the cost of food 5 times, but the cost of medical services has had an increase equal to only 2.8 percent. I am not suggesting that physicians increase their fees; but, if we can stop the increases in other prices, we can also do the same in this area. However, why is all the pressure and all the chatter about only the medical fees. The Medical Association--10 years ago--determined the highest office visit fee to be 90 tumans. Now the highest fee allowed is 100 tumans. Well, what improvements have we achieved toward greater advantages? If we pursue this question and bring pressure, no longer will anyone study medicine and nursing.

With regard to negligence of the medical staff in hospitals, Dr Marandi added, "You see, sometimes when a patient comes to the hospital suffering from a disease--from which 99 out of every 100 persons afflicted with this disease recover; but just 1 patient dies; and of course we do not know who that 1 person is. Well, the treatments are not effective with this patient and he dies. His relatives cry out that his death occurred due to the negligence of the physician or the nurse. This, of course, is not so. If, God forbid, at one time a doctor or a nurse is negligent in his work, be it unintentional or intentional, he will be severely punished and referred to the Medical Association's prosecutor's office or to other judicial entities.

Concerning methods of attracting man power back from abroad, he added, "This problem is at once both very complex and easy: we conveyed, inform of promises, our aspirations and hopes to some physicians abroad; and they returned to the country. But, nonetheless, despite the aspirations of the responsible

officials for providing them with houses, telephones, automobiles and suitable salaries, such promises were not realized; and these physicians left Iran--a fact which created negative publicity. Hence, we concluded that we must keep the existing staff of physicians in Iran satisfied and not cause them to leave the country. When the Iranian physicians residing abroad realized that the physicians who are in the country are happy, they will return. Of course, they would say that "we will be happy with this salary and the situation and will forgo the high salaries paid abroad, provided that our income is commensurate with the cost of living in the society. For example, if a merchant has such and such income commensurate with his position, we too should be paid salaries appropriate to our position and the years we have spent studying, and inflation should be considered to determine salaries.

At the end of his remarks, the minister of health talking about the shortage of hospital beds added, "At the present time, we have 5,000 hospital beds ready. But, unfortunately, we do not have the necessary medical, nursing, laboratory and related personnel. In this respect, we are confronted with insufficient allocations and a small budget which, God willing, we will strive to improve.

Peace be with you.

12811

CSO: 4640/318

IRAN

# DEPUTY HEALTH MINISTER DISCUSSES SHORTAGE OF MEDICINE

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 14 Jan 85 p 22

[Interview with Dr Nik-Nezhad; place and date not specified]

[Text] In an exclusive interview with a KEYHAN reporter, Dr Nik-Nezhad, deputy health minister for drugs, answered questions about the drug situation in the country, the ways of providing raw materials and the packaging of medicine, the shortage of some drugs and the inadequacies in the distribution networks, the nature of the relationship with drug companies, the status of that group of drug companies and medical offices, that are without permits, and the shortage of powdered milk and baby food.

First considering the drug situation in the country, he stated, " The pharmaceutical system of the country is not separate from the overall system of health care. That is, it is essential that there exist a complete concerted effort among the physician, the patient and the drug manufacturer. In that case, the pharmaceutical problems of the country which constitute one aspect of the health-care networks in the entire country would be reduced to a minimum. I hope that we can also reduce the medicine related problems to a minimum through the steps taken toward coordinating these three aspects.

He added, "The government has taken a giant step toward implementing the policies of the pharmaceutical system of the country--namely, through eliminating the influences of the capitalist countries in planning and by deleting the commercial labels from drug items.

For example, by the end of the year 1357 [21 March 1978-20 March 1979], 4 billion tumans had been spent on drugs in the country. A figure--which in the context of our population and the level of production and imports--had caused huge amounts of currency to leave the country because domestic production was at a very low level--with all the raw materials and the packaging material which were being imported from abroad. On the other hand, we are trying under present conditions to raise the domestic production of drugs to a level equal to 75 percent or 80 percent of the domestic need.

With respect to providing raw materials and domestic packaging, Dr Nik-Nezhad stated: "If we were to produce all the pharmaceutical products domestically but continue to be dependent for the raw materials and the packaging, our policies would encounter complications. Therefore, we have planned to become

relatively self-sufficient in the production of the raw materials and packaging concurrent with the production of the needed medicine for the country. Of course, under present conditions, we must try to limit ourselves to the production of that group of raw materials and packaging for which there already exist in the country the technology and the man power. Since the project to produce raw materials is much more complicated, we are presently planning to produce domestically about 50 items of raw materials within 5 years. The production of raw materials needs a longer period of time; for example, the formula for a given raw materials must be worked on at the university and go through laboratory stages. Finally, it must be determined as to whether the same results could be achieved in industry as in the laboratory and also whether domestic production is economical. These are all the aspects of the processes which make investing in the production of raw materials more exact, but time consuming.

He continued: "As far as packaging is concerned, some have committed capital and are presently producing bottles for liquid drugs because we annually need about 250 million bottles for drugs. We hope that all the bottles, as well as syringes and capsules to be filled with medicinal gelatine, will be produced domestically.

With regard to the shortage of some drug items and the inefficiencies in the distribution networks, Dr Nik-Nezhad said, "We are trying to reduce to a minimum the problems and the inefficiencies in the distribution of drugs, but one must admit that the least inefficiency in the drug production and import networks is immediately reflected in the marketing network. For example, if the capsules, the raw materials, and the packaging were to be available but the plastic caps were not available, the marketing of the drug would be delayed for a long time. Lack of coordination in the transportation network would affect the marketing directly as well."

He continued, "For these reasons, in each province, we have set up a command post called the Drug Distribution Command Post--which after review of the drug related shortages in the region will report to us, and we would attempt to rectify the shortages." He went on, "We try to coordinate among all the elements involved with pharmaceutical production, such as the physician, the patient, the pharmacy, the drug manufacturer and the importer of drugs. We also inform the people to avoid self-treatment."

He further added, "All these problems notwithstanding, the most major pressure brought to bear on the country's drug network is by major international networks of drug manufacturers--who want to see our drug policy (the Generic Drug Project) which is nearing completion defeated. Fortunately, however, due to the way in which the planning is going forward and based on information in the world mass media, the implementation of this Generic Drug Project is assuming an international dimension. I hope that through the efforts and struggles of the officials in charge and the experience we have gained over the past several years, we are able to correct the inefficiencies in the country's drug production and distribution network.

With respect to the relationship with pharmaceutical companies, Dr Nik-Nezhad stated, "We shall try to become self-sufficient in the area of producing the 50-item raw materials within 5 to 10 years, but in the area of some items, such as capsules which are produced by only five companies--three American companies, one West German company and one Japanese company--in the world. We have to obtain these capsules from those three countries.

Continuing his remarks, the deputy health minister said, "The marketing of drugs must be accomplished within a proper system divorced from a commercial network, and for this very reason, the Ministry of Health has undertaken the task of preparing a disciplinary code of regulations in which the responsibilities of the founder and the technical personnel in charge and their relationship with the patient have been defined. I hope that with the passage of this code a certain order will be established for the ultimate marketing of drugs.

Concerning the establishment of medical offices and pharmacies without obtaining permits, Dr Nik-Nezhad stated, "In accordance with article 1 of the pharmaceutical law enacted in 1324 [21 March 1945-20 March 1946], the establishment of all medical entities such as clinics, medical offices, and pharmacies... must be with the permission of the Ministry of Health with the proviso that the technical administrator of such institutions must also be qualified. In accordance with this law, any entity in the country lacking a permit or a qualified technical administrator will be shut down by the Ministry of Health.

Addressing the problem of the shortage of powdered milk and the inefficiencies in its distribution, Dr Nik-Nezhad said, "This problem is mostly the result of the lack of coordination among groups and organizations involved with this endeavor because delays in allocation of currency by the banks to the producers or the importer of the product or disruption in the transportation networks would carry shortages in the powdered milk market.

He declared that "It is hoped that all these problems, such as submitting timely orders to the banks and allocating the (needed) currency to the agent or the manufacturer on time, will be reduced to a minimum through the program which we have begun as of several months ago.

About the amount of imported milk, he said, that "our evaluation has revealed that proportionate to the population, the consumption of powdered milk in European countries is very low, whereas we imported 60 million cans of powdered milk in 1983-1984. This amount is very high in the context of the growth of the population and the level of births in the country. We must try to use the best food--namely, the mother's milk--to feed our infants; and in connection with this goal, the nourishment of the mothers themselves must receive serious attention.

He continued, "During the early days of the revolution, 56 different kinds of powdered milk were imported; and since the majority lacked sufficient nutrients, the Ministry of Health reduced that number to 15 kinds which are rich in nutrients.

He added, "Of course, we cannot succeed in our attempt to reduce the numerous kinds of powdered milk without fully informing and educating the physicians--especially pediatricians--as well as the mothers. We hope that with the cooperation of the people the inferior commercial brands of milk will be eliminated from the market and that mothers will use only those brands of milk approved by the Medical Society. Of course, as of several months ago, we have begun thorough planning to intervene in the areas of food and questions of nutrition of infants. It is hoped that these problems will be reduced to a minimum in the future.

12811

CSO: 4640/318

IRAN

TEHRAN COMMENTS ON ISRAEL'S ANTITERRORISM CONFERENCE

GF031732 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0900 GMT 3 Mar 85

[Unattributed commentary: "The Leader of Terrorism Hosts an Antiterrorist Conference"]

[Excerpts] During the past few days, occupied Palestine witnessed the convening of a secret conference of experts from the security and intelligence departments of imperialist countries and the reactionary regimes which are connected with them including the ministate of the Zionist enemy to discuss what they called methods of fighting international terrorism.

The conference was convened under conditions of extreme secrecy and in an abrupt fashion. The conference was announced only after it had convened.

The curious thing is that the Zionist ministate, which is one of the greatest supporters of international terrorism, has hosted the meetings of this suspect conference, during which methods for confronting the ambitions of peoples and crushing their free will were discussed.

The countries which participated in the meetings of this secret conference are the United States, the FRG, the United Kingdom, Singapore, Hong Kong, Thailand, and the Zionist entity, in addition to the representatives of aggressive NATO. Agents of the CIA, the British Intelligence Service, and the Israeli Mossad played the principal role in running the meetings of the conference and directing it, and making broad plans for the methods of confronting the ambitions of the peoples and their free will.

Another curious thing is that the participants in the conference whose meetings were shrouded in secrecy issued a statement at the end of their meetings in which they called upon what they referred to as the world's free peoples to confront the danger of terrorism.

Doubtless the experts from the countries participating in the conference have in their turn put their bloody experiences at the service of the espionage and torture experts who work for the Zionist Mossad. All this certainly aims at arriving at the most bloody methods to crush the will of the peoples and to torture their oppressed nationals.

From this premise, this secret and suspect conference which met in occupied Palestine under the guard of the spears of the Zionist ministate and under the veil of an international conference to fight terrorism, has--through the identity of the participants in its meetings--removed the figleaf from the defect of the antiterrorism impostors. Consequently the question which arises is: who are the defenders of international terrorism? Are they the sons of small peoples who extracted their independence and liberty from the imperialists after a bitter struggle and are now subject to the repressive practices of imperialist regimes? Or are the defenders of terrorism, the imperialists themselves and those who always flourish their thick stick in the face of liberated peoples?

The question which arises in the end also is: what have the information organs of the free and anti-imperialist countries done in order to expose the nature of this suspicious conference and the conferences which preceded it and those which will follow it in the future? What about this slackness on the part of the media organs by the free countries on the convocation of such espionage conferences which will undoubtedly have bloody results in the near future?

CSO: 4604/26



IRAN

# TABRIZ COMMENTS ON UN COMMITTEE REPORT

GF261346 Tabriz Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 25 Feb 85

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The report by the UN committee which visited POW camps in Iran and Iraq was issued in New York last Thursday. The UN committee in its 80-page report not only refuted the falsifications of the International Red Cross Organization about rigid measures being imposed on Iraqi POWs in Iran but also affirmed that the Iraqi regime is perpetrating inhuman acts against Iranian POWs.

Last year on 10 October when the so-called representatives of the International Red Cross were inspecting the Iraqi POW camp in Gorgan, fierce clashes broke out for a brief period between the Ba'th prisoners and Iraqi Muslim prisoners due to the instigation of Ba'th mercenary prisoners. As a result, a number of Iraqi prisoners were brutally killed by the Ba'thists. Following this incident last year, which was stopped by the forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Red Cross and the international imperialist media began a widescale antipropaganda campaign against the Islamic Republic of Iran and declared that Iran is slaying Iraqi POWs in groups.

According to various information, the International Red Cross has made all kinds of efforts in order to change the content of the UN committee report and oblige them to write that the condition of the Iraqi POWs in Iran is very bad and that the one responsible for the Gorgan incident is the Islamic Republic of Iran.

At the same time the report proved that all the Iraqi propaganda is false and unfounded. Although the UN committee report stated that harsh measures are not being taken against Iraqi prisoners. Nevertheless the report puts Iran in Iraq's category and states that pressure will be exerted on Iraqi jailers in order not to torture Iranian prisoners and similarly pressure will be exerted on Iranian jailers in order not to impose ideological ideas on the Iraqi POWs and give them freedom to choose their religion.

The UN committee admitted that brutal measures are being exerted on Iranian POWs. The Islamic Republic of Iran also had often warned about this but the portion of the report that says ideological teachings are being imposed on the Iraqi POWs is the truth [as heard] because it is being carried out at the request of the Iraqi Muslim POWs.

Saddam's regime, which is financially supported by international imperialism, condemns the Islamic Republic of Iran for using brutal measures against Iraqi POWs will wait for the results of this report today, particularly in political and cultural circles. This report proved more than ever the righteousness and innocence of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

CSO: 4605/116

IRAN

ATTACK ON PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE REPORTED

GF281306 Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 13 Feb 85 p 2

[Text] As a result of shooting directed at the building housing the public prosecutor's office in Tehran, several windows were broken and bullet holes were found on the walls of this building on Shari'ati Street in Tehran.

According to IRNA, on Sunday afternoon, as millions of Iran's Muslim people were on the rooftops shouting the enemy crashing slogan "God is Great," the counterrevolutionary American mercenaries in order to distract the people and to advertise the activities of their organizations, mobilized all their resources and after carrying out the terrorist actions which caused absolutely no serious damage, claimed that they had destroyed the building housing the public prosecutor's office. According to the same report, yesterday on the anniversary of the Islamic revolution, a number of Western media began to carry out intense propaganda by publishing various reports on this incident saying that two of the three stories of this building were destroyed, and that a fire had broken out and ambulances were coming and going. The BBC and the sinister Voice of America announced that this noticeable military action was proof of the intense activities of the opposition in Iran.

According to IRNA, this action caused absolutely no injuries and there was no need for ambulances. Work continued as usual at this revolutionary unit yesterday.

According to reliable sources, this attack was carried out at night with a large-caliber gun from an opposite building. The small results of this attack is in itself the best proof of the inadequacy of small American mercenary groups in Iran.

CSO: 4640/441

IRAN

OPPOSITION PAPER COMMENTS ON WESTERN SUPPORT TO IRAQ

GF261838 London KEYHAN in Persian 14 Feb 85 p 2

[Article by Amir Taheri: "West Will Have To Pay Dearly for Its Support to Iraq"]

[Text] Paris--Support to Iraq in the war against Iran may cost the West very dearly. This opinion was expressed by Amir Taheri in one of his speeches.

Taheri said: If we look to the future we see very easily that it will not be wise to bet on Iraq against Iran. Iran is the most important and the richest country in the region and will have to shoulder a basic role in the area.

The wounds that have been inflicted on the body of Iran by the war and the revolution have weakened this country but Iran is still considered to be the richest country in the region. Taheri who was speaking at the French Management National School said: The situation in Iran and Iraq should be compared with a view to the "risk" that it involves for the future. The present calm in Iraq is transitory and superficial and the present unrest in Iran is also transitory. Iraq owes more than \$40 billion to its foreign creditors while Iran does not owe a single cent to anybody.

He said: The Islamic regime for the time being can rely on the power accumulated by the former regime and can, despite a number of political and economic blunders, survive against political and economic pressures. The Islamic regime no longer wields control over the masses. The opponents of the regime, due to the war with Iraq, have not been able yet to pay sufficient attention to domestic issues.

He added: Nobody in Iran can dare speak today of an unconditional cease-fire because the Iraqis started the war and are responsible for the death of many thousands of Iranians and the destruction of five of our provinces. The question of war has been mixed with the question of Iranian domestic policies and it will not be resolved merely through diplomatic talks. Syria gets some cash from the Islamic regime but does not have even the slightest influence either in the field of war or peace.

Taheri said: The future of Iran, despite the claims of its illwishers, is quite bright. The Iranian people reject dictatorship in whatever form it may be and the "Velayat-e Faqih" is also a kind of dictatorship.

CSO: 4640/440

IRAN

EMIGRE PAPER REPORTS ON NEW BARTER TRADE POLICY

GF060500 London KEYHAN in Persian 21 Feb 85 p 8

[Text] The government of the Islamic Republic has decided to reduce the value of its imports from other countries to half the value of oil which those countries buy from Iran. The Ministry of Petroleum of the Islamic Republic has announced that this system which so far has been applied to Japan only, will now be applied to EEC member-countries including West Germany. The economic experts believe that this decision has been taken by the Islamic Republic to continue the past barter policies of this country. These circles believe that this barter system between the Islamic Republic and other countries which export foodstuffs and industrial machine tools will expand in an unprecedented way.

According to the FINANCIAL TIMES, at present 13 percent of total Iranian oil exports go to Japan. Japan imports 6 percent of its oil needs from Iran. The National Iranian Oil Company since 1982 has vastly expanded the scope of its barter trade with other countries. The government of the Islamic Republic of Iran from the beginning of its war with Iraq to the end of the last year has made barter exchanges of its crude with other countries worth about \$20 billion. Evangelos (Columbus), the former minister of energy of Greece, concluded a barter agreement with the Islamic Republic for 1 million tons of crude oil against 150,000 tons of wheat, a quantity of eggs, poultry, tobacco, aluminium, utensils, and also medical goods. As far as we know the Islamic Republic will pay in crude oil to the Soviet Union for receiving technical aid in carrying out construction plans in Iran, for ships from Yugoslavia, for steel and other consumer industrial materials from the Federal Republic of Germany, for foodstuffs from Pakistan, and industrial machine tools from Taiwan. The government of Syria will also get about 1 million tons of Iranian oil every year on condition that it blocks the Iraqi pipeline carrying its oil from Kirkuk to the Mediterranean coast.

The following schedule gives information on a part of the barter transactions of the government of the Islamic Republic with some of the oil-receiving countries:

| <u>Country receiving<br/>the oil</u> | <u>Goods to be exchanged<br/>for oil</u> | <u>Amount of oil<br/>in exchange</u> |
|--------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| Greece                               | wheat, cotton, eggs                      | 30,000 bpd                           |
| Japan                                | automobiles, steel                       | 150,000 bpd                          |
| Pakistan                             | foodstuffs and<br>manufactured items     | 20,000 bpd                           |
| West Germany                         | steel                                    | not known                            |
| Yugoslavia                           | ships                                    | 30,000 bpd                           |
| Syria                                | --                                       | 1,000,000 tons<br>per annum          |
| Soviet Union                         | construction services<br>and machinery   | 61,000 bpd                           |
| Taiwan                               | machine tools                            | not known                            |

CSO: 4640/439

IRAN

# EXPANSION OF OIL INDUSTRY, PRESERVATION OF RESERVES DISCUSSED

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 5 Feb 85 p 4

[Text] Economic dispatch--Engineer Mohammad Hassan Tavala'i, director of the Oilfields, Exploration and Production Division of the National Iranian Oil Company(NIOC) answered questions from correspondents in a press interview about the present situation of oil reserves of the country and discussed details of projects under consideration in the oil industry.

First, regarding the duties of the separate divisions which come under the management of the Exploration and Production Office and also the Office of Oil Regions of the country he stated: "NIOC consists of ten management divisions such as refinery; distribution, pipeline and communications; administrative; financial; commercial; oilfields; exploration and production; coordination and planning; international affairs and finally the Office of the Engineering and Construction.

"The office in charge of oilfields is responsible for the supply of exportable oil and the supply of gas necessary for domestic consumption. The office in charge of exploration and production is also responsible for the exploration and discovery of gas and oil throughout the country; in addition, this office is in charge of gas operations in Khangiran, Qom and Sarajeh. Exploration activities consist of processes dealing with geology, geophysics, geochemistry, surveying and drilling of the wells."

Tavala'i went on to add that the approximate extent of oilfields is about 200,000 square kilometers. Up to the year 1974 these oilfields were managed by the oil consortium. Thereafter, major western oil companies such as "The Seven Sisters" undertook the process of exploration and production within the framework of an "Oil Service Company."

After the revolution and the cancellation of the former agreements, all such responsibilities became part of the duties of the hardworking employees of the Iranian oil industry and thereby the hand of imperialism was cut from our oil reserves. During this period we have been blessed continually with an increased level of activities and production in certain areas.

The greater diameter of our circle of oilfields is 1,300 kilometers which includes such provinces as Lorestan, Fars, Kohkiluyeh va Boyer Ahmad, Khuzestan, Bandar 'Abbas and Bushehr. The number of the permanent workers employed by the oil industry in the oil-producing regions of the country is 6,500; the number of permanent administrative and technical personnel is 5,050 and the number of miscellaneous and temporary workers related to the oil industry amounts to 9,325 employees.

At the present time nine drilling rigs are in operation throughout the oil-producing regions. From the beginning of the current year until the end of Azar [21 March - 21 December 1984], 15 wells have been prepared for production, 21 wells have been repaired and 39,034 meters of drilling have been carried out. A comparison of pertinent statistics on drilling in oil-producing regions to the similar period of the previous year shows an increase of 95 percent.

As regards the formation of the National Drilling Company Tavala'i stated: "After the expulsion of the Americans from the southern part of the country and cutting the hands of foreigners from our oil industry, the National Drilling Company, composed of 46 separate drilling companies, was established. Consequently, Iran as a member of OPEC is the first country which enjoys an independent and giant drilling industry.

At the present time, all the related drilling procedures, from preliminary planning to the control and supervision of the engineering operations to the actual drilling, are carried out by an Iranian staff and workers. He went on to add: "The number of active wells at the beginning of the current year (21 March 1984) was 317. Other wells consist of 44 gas producing wells, 137 oil, gas and water observation wells; 63 wells of gas in liquid and gaseous form; 305 closed-up wells which are not needed at the present time and 530 abandoned or obsolete wells. Under the present circumstances only 22 oil reserve facilities are operational, these will be increased to 36 units under the 5-year development plan."

#### Utilization Expansion Plan

Regarding the expansion of the programs in the oil-producing regions during the 5-year development plan, the director of the exploration and production stated: "Fully operational factories in the oil-producing regions comprise 38 units which will be increased to 47 by the end of the 5-year development plan. Similarly, the number of liquid and natural gas plants will be increased from six to ten units by the end of the 5-year development plan.

"During the same period one liquid gas refinery will be added to the present refinery. By the end of the 5-year development plan the present two desalination plants will be increased by 10 more. The number of plants for the stabi-



lization and reinforcement of liquid gas pressure also will be increased to 32 units. In a similar fashion, another pumping station will be added to the present five pumping stations which are operating only for the export of oil." Concerning other characteristics of the Iranian oil industry Tavala'i stated: "The approximate length of oil and gas pipelines throughout the oil-producing regions of the country is 9,000 kilometers. The total amount of oil discovered in the oil-producing regions from the year 1332 [21 March 1953 - 20 March 1954] until the early part of the current year was 341 billion barrels. Likewise, the amount of gas mixed with oil discovered has been 475 trillion cubic feet. The amount of oil produced without the process of gas injection was 69 billion barrels, production of natural gas amounted to 324 trillion c.f.; production of oil produced through the process of gas injection was 30 billion barrels, and the production of liquid gas for the same period amounted to 25 trillion c.f. Production of oil without the process of gas injection amounted to 39 billion barrels and the producible gas which exists in combination with oil, for the same period amounted to 299 trillion c.f. Of course, if the project of gas injection goes on smoothly, we will have an increase of 17 billion barrels of oil from our present reserves."

Regarding the importance of the gas injection project, the director of exploration and production of the NIOC stated: "If this process is carried out simultaneously with the utilization operation of the crude oil reserves, we will get the best result in the final production operations. In the past the oil companies and the consortium have paid little or no attention to this important issue--they focused their attention only on the utilization and production aspect without thinking about maintaining or extending the possibility of the life of oil reserves. For this reason they have inflicted irreparable damage to our oil reserve regions such as Marun, Pazanan and Gachsaran."

#### Synopsis of Oil Company's Programs in Exploration

Regarding the technical, planning, executive and construction departments Tavala'i stated: "We are the only country in OPEC which enjoys technical skills and planning capabilities. Our Executive and Construction Department through the execution of large investment projects has proven to be very capable and it can be said that it is probably one of the best executive units of the government."

As regards the development programs, the director of the exploration and production of NIOC said: "The development budget for the current year [21 March 1984 - 20 March 1985] is 66.15 billion rials and an estimated budget of 118 billion rials for 1364 [21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986] has been predicted. The total budget for the 5-year development plan (1363 - 1368) will be more than 735 billion rials."

He announced that the synopsis of the oil company's 5-year program concerning exploration and production are as follows:

- 1- Production of oil and gas with due consideration to the preservation and protection of the resources.
- 2- An increase in the production of oil through the use of gas injection project.
- 3- Supplying export quota and the domestic consumption needs.
- 4- Extraction of gas which is found mixed with crude oil.
- 5- Ultimate exploration and utilization of the border oilfields.
- 6- Less utilization of the oilfields where it is necessary to inject gas before the extraction of the crude oil is possible.
- 7- Avoiding extraction of gas from oil pools' bonnets.
- 8- Installation of desalination plants where and when it becomes necessary in the life of an oil pool.
- 9- Simultaneous and balanced production from oil pools which are fed by common subterranean reserves.
- 10- Less utilization of remote oilfields which lack sufficient facilities for the extraction of gas.

The total number of engineering projects which must be carried out during the 5-year development plan is 499. These projects range from a two billion toman project to small projects such as pipe laying in a small area and so forth. Some of the most significant of these projects are as follows:

The project for the supply of gas to the Iran-Japan Petrochemical Complex from the gas reserves of Ahwaz and Marun which have had 90 and 62 percent progress respectively in their operational activities.

This project is intended to prevent the burning of surplus natural gas in Ahwaz and Marun and to transform the same into petrochemical products. The volume of development credit for this project is 400 billion rials. On the whole, one of the most important plans of the Ministry of Petroleum is the prevention of burning of surplus gas. The heat value of the amount of the surplus gas which has been burned so far in our country is equivalent to 10 billion barrels of oil according to the estimates of experts.

#### Utilization of Gas Reserves

Regarding gas production of the greater offshore Northern Pars and the onshore Aghaz and Valan gas reserves Tavala'i stated: "By the end of the 5-year devel-

opment plan, gas production from these three gas reserves will be 2.4 billion c.f. It is predicted that 1.8 billion c.f. of gas will be produced in the first phase.

A large refinery is under construction close to the Nar and Kangan gas pools in the province of Fars. During the first development plan, 1.2 billion c.f. and during the second development plan 2.7 billion c.f. of gas will be extracted from these pools."

#### Exploration Plan for Heavy Oil

Concerning the measures which have been taken by the Department of Exploration and Production between 1358 [21 March 1979 - 20 March 1980] until the month of Dey 1363 [22 December 1984 - 20 January 1985] Tavala'i added: "An equivalent of 1,948 days of work have been spent on geological studies to evaluate the potential of our oil reserves. 79,577 rock samples also have been tested by fossil experts, 1,293 daily field survey shifts have been completed and 5,097 kilometers of land have been tested for tremor and gravitational attraction."

As regards the production of heavy oil, the director of exploration and production of NIOC stated: "After an increase in the price of crude oil in the world, some companies and countries have become aware of the possibilities of the use of very heavy oil which has not been so far economically profitable to produce.

"After the revolution, considering the fact that our country has an abundant reserve of heavy oil, a project called 'Project for the Exploration of Heavy Oil', under the supervision of production directorship, was founded to continue practical and scientific work in this field.

"After the completion of preliminary studies, Taqdis Kuh (Mund) was chosen as the proper site. Preparatory drillings and research indicate the presence of a reservoir of 11 to 12 billion barrels of very heavy oil, on this account this reservoir is considered to be the eighth largest oil repository in Iran. Of course, as of this date no viable production planning has been charted for this project--rather, it is in the trial production and research stage.

"Other important projects of the Ministry of Petroleum include the preservation of crude oilfields contained in the salt pits which is being tackled by this ministry for the first time. Through this preservation we will be able to save the crude oil fluids underground and use it whenever the need arises."

#### Exploration of Oil in the Caspian Sea

Regarding the exploration of oil in the Caspian Sea, Tavala'i stated: "Work on the exploration and necessary studies on this project have been completed

and we are close to starting our drilling operations. We hope that through the help of relevant organs we will be able to erect the necessary rigs in the Caspian Sea."

In conclusion, regarding other activities of the Exploration and Production Department, engineer Tavala'i went on to say: "Up to now we have had 90 martyrs on the battlefield fronts. And our total assistance in the form of cash, merchandise, service and provision of support activities during the year 1362 (21 March 1983 - 20 March 1984) has been 1.585 billion rials."

12719

CSO: 4640/386

IRAN

WEEKLY COMMENTS ON SIX YEARS OF ISLAMIC RULE

Beirut AN-NAHAR REPORT & MEMO in English 18 Feb 85 pp 2-4

[Text]

After six years of revolutionary rule in Iran, the country is as much of an enigma as ever it was. Contact with foreigners, particularly Westerners, has been kept to a minimum, and very few journalists have been allowed back into Iran since the fall of the Shah to report on developments in the country. We asked Iranian academic, F. Farnik, to comment on the current political situation in Iran and to describe how the ayatollahs have maintained their rule.

Six years after the flight of the Shah, the Iranian Revolution — and the semi-theocratic state that it gave rise to — remains an enigma. On the one hand, Iran continues to be embroiled in revolutionary turmoil manifested in domestic political convulsions, economic difficulties, as well as international conflict. On the other hand, the regime has exhibited an uncanny ability to dodge potential threats to its survival. In fact, in comparison with the political turmoil and violence of its earlier years, the regime has even managed to introduce a surface calm to the Islamic Republic.

The complexity of Iranian politics has also drawn a wide array of responses from Iranians in opposition. Striving to re-establish "the good old days", some still hope that the regime will ultimately falter on its own contradictory foundations. The majority, however, are slowly coming to grips with the realities of the modern world's first semi-theocratic state run by orthodox clerics according to Islamic law. While the exact nature of this regime is yet to be determined, the lasting influence of this momentous revolution can no longer be denied. The removal of the Shah did not simply entail a replacement of political elites, as some would have us believe, but was also accompanied by attacks on the lifestyles and institutional supports of westernized dominant groups.

More importantly, the chances of reversal have become dimmer as the regime has progressively consolidated itself and extended its control into almost all aspects of people's lives.

While raw data can at times be misleading, in this case they can give us a flavour of the extent of the upheavals in Iran. The political executions of nearly 10,000 people have received the bulk of media coverage. However, the emigration of nearly half a million Iranians, mostly of the professional classes, has been as devastating to the socio-economic infrastructure. Finally, the human costs of the war with Iraq (reported figures are close to 100,000 killed, 300,000 wounded, and two million refugees) are yet to be absorbed fully by Iranian society. This is not to mention the material costs of the war, which includes destruction of its major port and refinery facilities.

Given the extent of the turmoil, political division, revolutionary violence and economic difficulties, it is no wonder that many students of Iranian politics have finally turned their attention to the mechanisms — both personal and institutional — that have provided the Islamic regime such resilience in confronting threats to its survival, which have included the violent death of many of its more imaginative leaders.

Ayatollah Khomeini's personal charisma and his absolute commitment to the establishment of an Islamic government — not just one infused with the spirit of Islam, but one in which the clerics rule — has certainly been the major factor in the continued, though perhaps fading, mass appeal of the regime. But Khomeini's presence has been perhaps even more important, as he remains the final arbiter among the clerical community and government officials. This power has been vested in him by the constitution as the leading religious figure in the country (*fajih*). Ironically, however, one of the major reasons for Khomeini's continued success has been the care with which he has used this overwhelming constitutional prerogative. On the one hand, he has been quite decisive in using this power to protect the rule of the clerics against the opposition that operated against his specific vision of an Islamic society. For example, in a recent book by the Iranian journalist Shaul Bakhash, *The Reign of the Ayatollahs*, it is reported that when certain merchants supported Iran's first president, Bani Sadr, after Khomeini had turned against him, the Ayatollah announced: "To close the bazaar and to demonstrate is to defy the prophet and to defy Islam."

On the other hand, while decisive on critical questions, Khomeini has not been as interested in all aspects of state affairs. In fact, he has generally avoided involving himself in highly controversial doctrinaire issues, or issues that would lead to unpopular decisions. For example, he submitted the decision on the settlement of the hostage question to the parliament, and was publicly quiet on the land redistribution issue. This avoidance of such important questions has led some observers, like Shaul Bakhash, to point out a major difference between the Shah's dictatorial rule and Khomeini's. Since, unlike the Shah, Khomeini does not insist on taking credit for all the government's successes, he also avoids getting blamed for its many failures.

Khomeini's leadership style — whether self-chosen or forced upon him — has obvious consequences that set this new dictatorship in Iran even further apart from the "personal" dictatorship that characterized the Shah's regime. While this new dictatorship has been much more repressive and violent than the Shah's, it has also given birth to relatively autonomous political institutions that do not operate purely on the basis of decisions made by one person. These institutions include the parliament (*Majlis*) which though not really democratically elected — due to election tampering, expulsion of some of the elected candidates and the like — manages to be more than a rubber stamp on many issues. Lively

debates have been recorded and recent debates that led to votes of no confidence in five government ministers show that debates are not totally ineffectual either. The Council of Guardians (*Shura-yi Negahban*), which is a clerical body with veto power over parliamentary legislation, has also shown its powers as a counterforce to both government and parliament. For example, in a move reflecting its conservative make-up, it blocked three parliamentary bills nationalizing trade, reforming land tenure and confiscating the goods of exiled Iranians.

Khomeini's personal charisma is therefore something that was instrumental in consolidating the new rule in Iran. It does not however preclude independent activity on the part of different institutions that at times may collide or even be torn apart by internal conflicts. What is important is that the revolutionary regime has been resilient enough to use a variety of mechanisms in conjunction with Khomeini's charisma. These mechanisms include revolutionary rhetoric and martyrdom, as well as repression. More importantly, revolutionary leaders have been able to use already existing institutions, as well as those developed by themselves, in consolidating their rule.

Iranian revolutionaries have been among the few revolutionaries in the world that have kept the state apparatus they took over completely intact.

They simply seized control, got rid of top civil servants and started running it themselves. While considerable upheavals engulfed the bureaucracies during the process of stripping away the upper echelons of the civil service, the apparatus itself has remained in place. Interestingly, but perhaps not surprisingly, the bureaucratic maxim of operating on the basis of regulations and procedures has been a moderating check on the new men who took over the state apparatus.

The new leaders have also left their own distinctive imprints. An array of new organizations has been created that has usurped some of the functions of the existing state apparatus. Duplication of functions has also been quite prevalent. Nevertheless, these new organizations constitute an imposing vehicle for a variety of tasks — ie, mobilization for political causes, patronage, Islamic education and repression. Examples of these are the Mobilization Organization (*Sazeman-e Basij*) or the Crusade for Reconstruction (*Jihad-e Sazandegi*) which recruit for the war against Iraq and village development respectively. Some organizations, like the Martyrs' Foundation (*Bonyad-e Shahid*) or the Foundation for War Refugees (*Bonyad-e Jangzadegan*), even perform important welfare and social service functions.

However, most revolutionary organizations, like the Revolutionary Guards or the Centre for Combatting Sin (*Dayereh-ye Amr be Ma'ruf va Nahi az Monker*), have so far been preoccupied with ideological/moral purification and the enforcement of, so-called, Islamic justice — whether against "evil Saddam of Iraq" or the "domestic traitors".

The continued existence of this dual structure — state apparatus vs. revolutionary organizations — is obviously the source of tremendous jurisdictional tension which, in many ways, is an accurate reflection of the problems of Iranian politics today. In December 1982, Khomeini issued an eight-point declaration which included the following statement: "We should no longer say we are in a revolutionary situation. No. Now is the time of calm. It is a time for people to be secure in all things, to put their capital to work."

The persistence of revolutionary organizations in challenging the political dominance of the state apparatus invariably makes adherence to these instructions — no matter that they come from the supreme leader of the revolution — very difficult. That is why, under the surface calm, Iran remains a country in turmoil, routinely executing its dissenters; a country at war, with an economy so depleted that its output is still 25 per cent less than the economic boom during the Shah's regime.



IRAN

# NVOI ASSAILS PERSECUTION OF MINORITIES IN IRAN

TA052052 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 5 Mar 85

[Unattributed commentary: "The Islamic Regime--The Foe of the Nation and of Ethnic and Religious Minorities"]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots: One of the main characteristics of the bloody Islamic regime is its ruthless opposition to religious and ethnic minorities. Under the false and self-made pretext of the "Islamic Ummah," leaders of the Islamic regime have not only tried to deny the reality of the glaring class differences in Iranian society and the Islamic world, but have also crudely violated the legitimate rights of ethnic and religious minorities.

Though the reactionary and superstitious rulers of our country have violated the people's property, lives, and honor, and have presented all Iranians from every sect and faith nothing but poverty, oppression, discrimination, pain, and agony, ethnic and religious minorities in our mullah-stricken country are still subjected to the dual oppression of this leadership which is the manifestation of medieval barbarism. The genocide of the brave Kurdish people, who were the real guardians of Iran's independence throughout the history of our homeland and who fulfilled a worthy role in the glorious February revolution, is an example of the barbarism, ruthlessness, and backwardness of this bloody, reactionary Islamic regime.

In fact one can hardly find a sector nation, as well as those who profess a faith or believe in an idea, in our country which has remained immune from the savage onslaught of the Velayat-e Faqih's despotic Islamic regime. Many members of religious minorities, such as the Jews, the Zoroastrians, and the Baha'is, are constantly subjected to persecution and pressure under various pretexts, and many of them have been forced to leave Iran. Some of them have been delivered to the firing squad merely for their religious beliefs, and their properties were looted and distributed among the grand ayatollahs.

The Velayat-e Faqih's despotic and superficial regime even prevents members of religious minorities from carrying out their particular religious rites and customs, and dismisses them from government departments and productive [occupations]. All of us are aware of the savage restrictions by the

Islamic regime against our Armenian compatriots. The trite excuses by the Islamic regime, which are periodically heard from Rafsanjani and others, can never hide from public opinion the nature of the Islamic regime's antipeople policy and repression.

The Islamic government's attitude toward our homeland's religious minorities, as well as the practice of persecution, repression, insult, and torture against them, have justly aroused the endless concern and indignation of our homeland's struggling people against the superstitious and ruthless Islamic regime. Our homeland's toiling and free people have always lived alongside the toiling and free masses of religious and ethnic sects and minorities, shared the sorrow and joy of one another, and fought together throughout history in independence, national, and liberation movements against despotic rulers. Currently, too, these people are fighting together, irrespective of religious beliefs, against the Velayat-e Faqih's theocratic-fascist tyranny for the sake of Iran's freedom and independence. Without doubt the unity of all Iran's free, progressive, and independence-seeking people, and their joint and united struggle against the self-centered Islamic regime, will hasten the expulsion of this ruthless regime.

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IRAN

# INTOLERANCE FOR CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM THREATENS REVOLUTION

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 12 Jan 85 p 26

[Excerpt] The speaker preceding the sermons of glad tidings, was the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. During his talk, while making allusions to the difficult lives of the prophets and describing the cruelty and oppression of the shahs, summoned the people to be as patient as possible with difficulties, and to tolerate uncertainty. Then Ayatollah Jannati, the temporary Friday Imam of Qom, delivered the sermons. He began the first sermon and continued the discussion of the past few weeks by saying the following about the role of action in determining human destiny. "The Great Koran and the divine teachings of the prophets both stressed the principal action to save humans from the dangers of this world and of the hereafter. They did not recognize any substitute for action, or present the possibility that a person can be rescued from divine punishment without action." "Sometimes errors are found in a person's thinking. Errors which discourage him from taking action. Sometimes pleasures unlike seeking comfort weaken a person in the field of action. Such errors are also committed by those who preach sermons. In the history of religion there have been verses and narrations which stated that people were only responsible for themselves, and not for saving others. In fact this has also been the cause of many of our errors. Here is where the clergyman has the heaviest responsibility. It is the same if his reward rises until he is considered to be a religious scholar, and to yield to him is to yield to the prophet, and so many find greatness in his image. If a scholar does not correctly perform his duties he causes error. He becomes the devil because he invites people to the way of Satan instead of guiding them to the truth. These clergymen have been a plague which has befallen Muslims throughout history. They have done more than anyone else to weaken religion. The most regrettable aspect of this is the fact that their faces are found everywhere. People generally recognize these faces. But the shining faces of those people, who generally lead lives like the Prophet's, and their work becomes a model, are not always recognized. They do not come out in the open because one of the principles of their work is that no one find out about their true works. They have been bound that if they lead impoverished lives, nobody should find out. Therefore, this type of individual and these faces were not visible. However, the exhibitionist court scholar who sat by the Pharaohs and the Korahs, was seen everywhere. If he built a palace or a house everyone knew that it belonged to the court scholar. Today we are caught in the same dilemma. Now there is great pressure among clergymen, both scholars and nonscholars, to hold

a government office. They lead very devout lives and have great needs, but they do not breath a word. Not too many people are willing to tolerate these hardships. Billions of tumans pass through the hands of these individuals annually. However, their piety does not allow them to touch any of it. Five years after the revolution they are still begging for a living. A significant majority of scholars do not lead a desirable life. They lack the means to meet their basic needs, but they do not complain."

Addressing the minority of comfort-seeking individuals he said: "It is true, dear brothers, that it is the nature of the flesh to seek comfort, but it should not be done in a way which disgraces Islam and the Revolution. Clergymen should not yield to such temptations. We are in a situation in which our enemies are prepared to use the smallest weak point against us. I recommend that if one is able to build a house, or improve the facade of his house, or buy the latest model car, for God's sake do not do it. Consider what effect this house or car will have on the attitudes of friends and enemies, and whether or not it will make uninformed people cynical.

"You cast doubt upon the honor of the religious students who have been martyred at the front; as well as the honor of those who are serving, who do not know night from day and do not have any expectations. This is a great offense. People may want to lead a life they please if they see that a clergyman's hand has reached into the treasure house. One must pay dearly for a piece of iron when another has stocked iron in his house. I am talking about the turbaned class which leads us, whose number is not great. They betray Islam, the blood of the martyrs, and the service of your fellow clergymen. I ask the Lord, continue to grace us by leading us to the way of the prophets." In the second sermon of the service, Ayatollah Jannati, the temporary Friday Imam of Qom, discussed the dangers which threaten the future of the Revolution, and added: "I will summarize in two segments the problems which I believe are eating away at both Islam and the Revolution from the inside, and the dangers which threaten the future of the Revolution, and whose effects are now clear. Part of the problems lie with the people. They should not simplify issues. The other part is related to our government officials who do not properly carry out their duties. They see their petty day to day affairs, and do not think about Islamic issues, or about our self-sacrificing people. They will become a source of danger in the future. Intolerance of criticism is a fault which some of them have. If you leave them alone, they will leave you alone. However, if you criticize them, they will raise the ramparts, and afflict you in every way they can. For example, if a worker or Islamic association sincerely tells the manager of a factory: 'If you import or sell a certain item it will harm the factory or the entire country.' The manager will immediately shut his mouth on the grounds he is interfering in his affairs. This is a tragedy for a society which is unable to accept criticism. The manager wants to compensate for his weakness with these arguments. This encounter is a sign of weakness." Ayatollah Jannati, continuing his remarks, added: "If an organization is unable to accept criticism, this is a sign that the organization is weak. Because a man will welcome criticism if he takes his work seriously, and does it in a systematic way. There are also people who are looking for criticism because they want to improve their work. This must be eliminated [as published]. Islamic Societies, and others, often write to us about individuals

who criticize with no intention of improving things. But the spirit of accepting criticism has been weakened to the point where if we tell somebody, with no malicious intent, that his work is wrong, he will be unable to accept our criticism, and he will fight. Meanwhile, some people who are not selfish lose their job. Others who see that their livelihood is in danger keep quiet. However, after a while they blow up. The matter should not be allowed to reach this point."

The temporary Friday Imam of Qom, subsequently addressing those involved in the financial issues of the country stated: "Those responsible for the treasury should keep in mind their Islamic duty, and not let slogans become a substitute for action. At the end of the year, ministries usually try every way to spend what remains of their budgets, in order not to return the money to the treasury. Thus, many unnecessary expenditures are made at the end of the year. This is not in accordance with Islamic virtue. In these difficult conditions, in which it is necessary to watch every penny, they make unnecessary expenditures so as not to return the extra amount to the treasury. Doesn't the treasury belong to the people? There is nothing wrong with returning the unspent money to the treasury. The government could use the 100 million which you have spent unnecessarily for other programs the following year. This pointless way of spending money is contrary to religious law. It is unlawful to abandon a usable automobile. This is the people's property, the government works very hard to prepare the budget under difficult conditions which the enemies of Islam have worked so hard to create. The enemies of the Scientific and Political conference plot. The Orientalists and the specialists in Iranian affairs, discuss this country's problems and the Islamic Revolution. They want to incapacitate us, and point out that Shiism has been revolutionary from the beginning and that many firey movements have arisen from it. Then they declare that addiction, prostitution, and indifference should be increased. Since they plot this way, why shouldn't we think of ourselves. In these conditions a person must watch every rial and every piece of paper. Gasoline, oil and electricity should also not be wasted. These items are public property, and you are responsible for them."

Then, referring to the bloody epic of 9 January and the flight of Martyr Navab Safavi from Najaf to Iran, he said: "You have not forgotten what the people of Qom did on 9 January and what befell them. These noble people of Qom and the clergy, moved and gave a second wind to this holy movement. They will not be forgotten. The martyrdom of Navab Safavi and his companions is also an unforgettable event. This clergyman, who was inspired by the Lord to come from Najaf, because so many people had cursed the domain of Islam, came but you remained silent. He came, and he and his companions were martyred. These are unforgettable events."

"Thus, dear friends, throughout history martyrs have shed their blood so that we could reach this point. If they had not lived, monotheism would not have been brought here. Basically this ship of God worship and support of justice and humanity has travelled upon a wave of blood in order to reach this point in history. It is incumbent upon us to know what we will leave as a memorial for future generations. We must act and the people must help. The Islamic government belongs to the people, and all of the people are responsible for the

Islamic government, and must sacrifice more. These are matters which should not be taken lightly. The present, the budget, and resources belong to the people. Insufficient work and poor work are considered treason. Today our enemies are sitting and keeping track of your insufficient work. To deceive people, such as telling a villager who has come 600 kilometers, come back in 15 days, is not good. I consider this type of attitude dangerous, and see it as the onset of danger."

Our fighters are still sacrificing themselves at the front. The Friday prayers are celebrated with glory. The blessed presence of the people's Imam and the revolutionary organs are still with us. Therefore if deviations are found they must be halted.

12847

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IRAN

#### BRIEFS

MINISTER ADDRESSES CULTURAL SEMINAR--On the second day of the seminar of cultural representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran stationed abroad, Minister of Islamic Guidance Khatami referred to the huge investments and plots of the West in spreading a superficial and divisive Islam, aimed at concealing the truths of Islam. He counted as one of the duties of the cultural representatives, continuous and steadfast resistance to this propaganda and the spread of original Islam and called on them to have greater contact with independent individuals, clergymen, and freedom-loving and popular intellectuals, and to issue the message of the Islamic revolution to the people of the world. He also stressed the need for collaboration between the cultural and political representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran abroad: The adoption of a consolidated and harmonious policy of publicity by all the organs dealing with cultural activities abroad, and also the preparation of a cultural map of the world, and the establishment of an active research center which will be in touch with educational and cultural centers within and outside the country. [Text] [Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 3 Mar 85]

VOLUNTEERS LEAVE FOR FRONTS--The personnel of Darab road and transportation office left for the war fronts of light against darkness in order to assist the brave men of the Islamic army. According to a report from the Central News Unit, following the announcement of road and transportation personnel of Darab expressing their readiness, 30 employees from this office departed for the war sectors of the country amid a warm sendoff by a group of people. The departure of the people and the hezbollahi tribes of Kohliluye-va Bovir Ahmad continues. According to a report by the Central News Unit, this morning a large group of enthusiastic youth who seek right, members of resistance groups from villages and the mobilization members of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps from Deh-Dasht, (?Chunan), (?Lenjeh), and (Bahr-e 'ein) left for the war fronts of light against darkness while chanting [word indistinct] in order to join the monotheist army against the world oppression following a warm sendoff by the people of this city. [Text] [Shiraz Domestic Service in Persian 1500 GMT 3 Mar 85]

PALESTINIANS FORCED TO FIGHT IRAN--London, 3 Mar (IRNA)--A Saudi theologian revealed here today that the Saudi regime forced the Palestinians who took refuge in that country to fight in the Iraqi imposed war against the Islamic Republic. He added that many Palestinians are presently imprisoned due to their refusal to fight against the Islamic Republic. The theologian who asked to remain anonymous due to security reasons, further said that the Saudi regime arrested hundreds of Muslims among whom were pregnant women. [as received] Also, he said some of them were martyred. Referring to the Islamic movements in his country, he stressed that the Muslim people of Saudi Arabia are going to materialise an Islamic Revolution in that country patterned after that of Iran and through the guidance of Imam Khomeyni. [Text] [Tehran IRNA in English 1856 GMT 3 Mar 85]

PRIVATE DEPOSITS UP--Tehran, 7 March, IRNA--The governor general of the Bank Markazi Iran (Central Bank), Mohsen Nurbakhsh, said since the introduction of the Islamic banking system this year, people's deposits with the banks significantly increased. Two years after the 1979 Islamic Revolution, the annual growth was reduced from 40 to 24 percent. In the following year, it became 17 percent and was as low as 2 to 3 percent during the current Iranian year, began 20 March 1984, he said. In the meantime, Nurbakhsh said the volume of deposits had increased. Interest-free deposits surpassed rials 300 billion (dlrs 3.15 bn) as of mid-February. Compared to last year (March 1983-March 1984), the overall growth of bank deposits increased 13 percent this year, he added. Nurbakhsh said one million of the six million account holders at Melli Bank had chosen interest-free accounts. Resources from interest-free accounts provided 50 percent of the nation's farm needs, he said. He said more than 50 percent of the total savings accounts in the country were at Melli banks, which also had rials 2,165 billion (dlrs 22.8 bn) in deposits, a third of the total deposits in all banks. [Summary] [Tehran IRNA in English 1840 GMT 7 Mar 85 LD]

CSO: 4600/318



PAKISTAN

GHAFOR AHMAD TALKS ABOUT ELECTIONS, CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

Karachi DAWN in English 28 Feb 85 p 6

[Text]

KARACHI, Feb 26: Prof Ghafoor Ahmad, Naib Amir of the defunct Jamaat-i-Islami, has said the time for the Government to amend the 1973 Constitution has passed since the National Assembly poll has been completed.

Any constitutional change after the election of the MNAs will be tantamount to "insulting the intelligence and maturity of the electorate", he opined.

Election '85, which was being held in pursuance of the Government's political framework, posed a challenge to the present regime to redeem its July 5, 1977 pledge about the transfer of power to the people's elected representatives, the professor told *Dawn* in an interview on Wednesday.

Prof Ghafoor said any amendments to the 1973 Constitution should be presented in the form of a draft bill before the elected house and have them endorsed according to the recognised constitutional practice.

In the same context, he cautioned against nominating the Prime Minister as that would amount to snatching away, from the National Assembly, its right to elect such a person. He said he failed to understand that if the nominated Prime Minister was required to take a vote of confidence from the house, what hitch should there be to let the National Assembly exercise its right to elect the Prime Minister?

The JI leader said he had his own doubts that the National Assembly may become a "shame" body in view of the past practices to stifle organised institutions in the country. The poll, held on a non-party basis, was intended to prevent institutional growth of the political system and this manoeuvring may still be indulged in, to ensure that the elected house remained divided, he pointed out.

He had apprehensions that the ethnic, linguistic and tribal trends noticeable in the election might further be encouraged on the floor of the house, thus obstructing the way of political groupings and alliances. In this way, according to him, the regime will hope to prolong its tenure at the cost of an organised and mature public opinion.

In support of his misgivings Prof Ghafoor recalled how measures like the local bodies' poll, formation of the nominated Majlis-i-Shoora and the Provincial Councils, holding of Mashaikh conferences and the appointment of Zakat and Ushr Committees and 'Salat' Committees were all directed to one purpose, namely, the stabilisation of the present regime.

"I do hope that my doubts about the authority and efficacy of the elected National Assembly does not come true", he said.

To another question Prof Ghafoor conceded that the National Assembly results were a setback to the defunct Jamaat-i-Islami. For this debacle he said he would not like to blame either the electorate nor any political party.

"We (of the JI) should have a merciless self-analysis, as also of our limitations in strategy and general behaviour to find out exactly what has been the malaise within our party's ranks", he observed.

Prof Ghafoor paid tributes to the political maturity and understanding of the electorate in taking correct decision in the election despite, what he said, cases of cajolery and intimidation. In terms of political consciousness and maturity, the Pakistani nation even surpassed the advanced nations (of the West), he asserted.

He termed the turnout question as academic, saying that to him it was of little consequence. However, if, according to the Government claim, the turnout percentage in the NA poll was larger than that obtained in the Dec 19 referendum, it was all the more reason that the elected National Assembly should have the universally recognised sovereign status.

Prof Ghafoor said if the elected representatives failed to come up to the expectations of the people, they will have to "face the music".

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PAKISTAN

TALKS HELD WITH AUSTRALIAN TEAM ON LAKHRA COAL PROJECT

Karachi DAWN in English 28 Feb 85 Business Supplement p I

[Text] Karachi, Feb 27: A six-member delegation of mining experts and engineers from Australia has begun talks with Pakistani officials on prospects of Australian participation in the Lakhra coal project.

The delegation, led by Mr. Alan C. Greenough, visited the Lakhra project site on Tuesday.

Mr. Greenough later told 'Dawn' the Pakistan had not yet resolved the question of which method of mining should be adopted at Lakhra.

Packages

"There are soft options which may be accompanied with easy loans and finances, but there are other options which require a lot of cool thinking," he said.

The Australians feel that Pakistan should not opt for technology which may not be the best though this may carry attractive financial packages. "You must get what would work, as the cheapest may not always be the best," Mr. Greenough stressed.

The visit of the Australian delegation has the blessings of the Australian Government and it will be seeing officials of the Pakistan Mineral Development Corporation and WAPDA in Lahore.

Australia is considered as the leader in coal mining and benefaction technology.

Long-term Plan

The agency meanwhile adds:

Mineral Development Corporation (PMDC) has embarked upon a long term coal development programme costing Rs. 4,294 million to set up exploration of coal deposits and increase annual coal output to 2.4 million tonnes by the end of Sixth Five-Year Plan.

Presently PMDC is implementing a scheme, aimed at increasing the production capacity of Makerwal collieries from 120,000 to 300,000 tonnes per annum by

end of June 1988. The PMDC is operating four coal mines--at Makerwal in Punjab and Dargai, Sor Range and Sharigh in Baluchistan. These mines which have been in operation for the last six years were beset with the problems of deep mining, depletion of reserves and tough mining conditions. As a result, production from them has declined over the years.

In spite of various technical handicaps, the PMDC produced 171,632 tonnes of coal during 1982-83. During the first nine months of the 1983-84 fiscal year, it produced 142,988 tonnes of coal, which compared favourably with 129,132 tonnes produced during the corresponding period last year.

Meanwhile the expansion scheme of Sharigh collieries, costing Rs. 32.51 million is aimed at increasing the production capacity of the mines to 100,000 tonnes per annum. The scheme is scheduled to be completed by June, 1985. The Corporation is also implementing a development plan for the development of a coal mine at Lakhra in Sind for sustained production of 200,000 tonnes of coal per annum. The scheme will be completed by June, 1988.

CSO: 4600/320

PAKISTAN

NEW NATIONAL ASSEMBLY: SHAPE, ORIENTATION DISCUSSED

Karachi DAWN in English 28 Feb 85 p 8

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Feb 27: While some vital constitutional amendments are anxiously awaited, what is going to be the shape of things, is a matter of no less political interest, when in the next few weeks some 237 newly-elected members of the National Assembly take their seats in a revived house without common political commitments and customary binding force of political platforms and election manifestos.

As is already known, the newly-constituted National Assembly will meet a few days prior to its inaugural session on March 23, to fill its reserved seats for women and to elect members to its various offices, including those of the speaker and the deputy speaker.

Again as has already been officially stated, President Gen. Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, who begins his new 5-year term as President on

March 23, and who will still be the Chief Martial Law Administrator until the Martial Law is formally lifted some months later, will nominate one of the members to be his Prime Minister. And it is this stage which should set the political ball rolling in a definite direction.

There is likely to be quite a scramble, for the post of the Head of Government and although it has been said at the top level that the offices of President and Prime Minister would be shared by the federating units, it should be interesting to watch how a member from the majority province would be prevailed upon, to give way to a member of a smaller province for prime ministership.

Of course, the President will name the Prime Minister but it is stated that he will be required to secure a vote of confidence for himself in the house within 60 days of

his nomination. In the absence of a parliamentary political whip, who will ensure, if the Prime Minister is from one of the smaller provinces, he will get the required number of supporters from the eternally larger province, the Punjab, which has far more members in the house than the total number of members from the remaining federating units.

Issues like the election of the Prime Minister, it is argued, will naturally lead to some kind of political alignments emerging in the house which may ultimately result in the birth of either parliamentary groups or parliamentary parties and thus to the revival of a political system.

Will that be the starting point for revival of political life in the country and will that also inevitably induce the President to play an active political role? These are some of the questions that are being asked and one hopes answers will be known in the next few weeks or months.

Of course, pending that, claims have begun to be made by many newly-elected members that a certain political party which was though not officially a contender in the poll, has already emerged as the largest single group in the new house. But there are still many imponderables clouded in a haze of uncertainties. Perhaps the hazy picture may start to clear as the new house assembles here in next three weeks or so.

But in the meantime, people who claim parliamentary experience, assert, although it might be possible to hold election on a non-party basis (officially), it is highly doubtful if a political institution like the parliament could be run without politics and political parties.

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PAKISTAN

ELECTIONS: JI FARES BADLY IN PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES

Karachi DAWN in English 1 Mar 85 p 1

[Excerpt] Karachi, Feb 28: Shocks and surprises continued as the process of general elections concluded with the completion of provincial assemblies polls throughout the country on Thursday.

Out of six contending provincial ministers, two won in Hyderabad one in Karachi but two lost in Karachi.

In Karachi, the defunct Jamaat-i-Islami claimed its six nominees had won, while the other 12 lost. It had not put up candidates against the remaining seven seats.

The three ministers who sailed through are Syed Ahad Yusuf (Education), Mir Aijaz Ali Talpur (Planning and Development) and Mr Javed Sultan Japanwala (Finance).

The Ministers who lost in Karachi are Mr. Dost Mohammad Faizi (Religious Affairs, Zakat and Ushr) and Mr. Bostan Ali Hoti (Health).

Another winner in Hyderabad is Haji Rawal Paharo. He humbled Mir Rafiq Ahmad Talpur, son of the late Mir Rasool Bux Talpur, in the prestigious constituency where Kazi Abid, MNA-elect, and defeated Defence Minister, Mir Ali Ahmad Khan Talpur, had failed to reach a compromise.

Among the easy winners was Mr. Husain Haroon from Clifton-Gizri area.

The defeat of Mr. Dost Mohammad Faizi was shocking in more than one way--the margin of the defeat (about 8,000 votes), and the fact that it came at the hands of independent candidate Mr. Bari Jilani.

More important, however, is the fact that Mr. Faizi was the joint candidate of PML (Pagaro group) and Jamiat Ahle Sunnat, which had claimed seven Karachi seats in the NA contest on Monday.

In a statement tonight, Mr. Faizi said that victory and defeat were part of the game and expressed the hope that the process of democracy started by the present government will continue.

He expressed regrets over the fact that his opponent allegedly used unfair tactics in the elections.

Mr. Faizi's constituency is the same where Jamiat's Haji Hanif Tayyeb surprised defunct JI's Mr. Mahmood Ahmad Madni on Feb 25 in the NA contest.

However, voters who backed the Jamiat candidate on Monday swung the other way to hand Mr. Faizi a convincing defeat, indicating once again that Karachi voters are not committed to any one but are generally in line with people elsewhere who indulged in "negative voting" to express the popular will.

According to defunct JI sources, the six nominees who won are: Mr. Naimatullah (North Nazimabad), Mr. Akhlaq Ahmad (Federal B Area), Dr. Athar Qureshi (Federal Area-adjoining villages), Babu Ghulam Husain Baluch (Kalakot-Usmanabad), Mr. Aslam Mujahid (Korangi) and Mr. Abbas Bawazir (Drigh Colony).

It is interesting to point out here that Mirza Luqman Beg, who had withdrawn from the NA contest, lost the PA contest today from Landhi constituency.

In the NA contest, the defunct JI got two seats out of 13. In the PA polls, its share is six out of 25.

CSO: 4600/320

PAKISTAN

ELECTIONS SAID TO RESTORE PEOPLE'S CONFIDENCE IN ELECTORAL PROCESS

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 2 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, March 1: The most striking aspect of the third general election of Pakistan which concluded yesterday is the restoration of people's confidence and faith in the election process, writes an APP correspondent.

And the credit for instilling this confidence and faith in the masses of the country rightly goes to the Government of the day which has exhibited its sincerity and honesty by holding the general election in a most fair, free and impartial manner.

This is borne out from the results, especially those of the Provincial Assembly elections, showing a higher turnout as compared to National Assembly elections.

According to the results released today, voters turned up in greater numbers for the provincial polls because they had seen with their own eyes during Monday's National Assembly polls that the Government had left no stone unturned in ensuring fairness and neutrality of the administration. The higher provincial turnout of 56.91 as compared to 52.93 of the National Assembly poles bespeaks of the added confidence and trust of the masses in the present Government.

In some of the districts the turnout touched an all-time high. Both in Gujranwala and Toba Tek Singh the turnout was nearly 82 per cent.

Election observers have also noted that it was not only at the domestic level that confidence in the right and correct election process had been restored, but internationally also there has been revival of this confidence in the Government. It holds particularly true for the Western democracies which have hailed the third general election as fair, free and impartial.

The honest conduct of the polls is the endorsement of the August 12 plan for transfer of power which began with the local bodies polls.

Another conclusion drawn from the election results is that so-called MRD and a section of Western media which had cast doubts about the 1985 elections



have proved to be wrong and their efforts to create an air of scepticism about these elections have gone on the rocks.

In the opinion of the election observers the large scale involvement of the electorate in the democratic process of elections was a clear proof of the determination of the people to play their due role in the affairs of the country.

Yet another conclusion was that both politicians and non-politicians were equally imbued with the spirit of serving the nation through elected Assemblies. An indication to this effect is available from the honours which have been shared almost equally by politically linked and independent candidates in winning their seats.

In the words of an election observer though the elections were held under partyless system, these could not be described as non-political.

A cursory look at the unofficial provincial results shows that almost the same pattern of leadership has emerged in the Assemblies of the four provinces as was witnessed for N.A. elected--new and younger leadership with moderate moorings, political as well as non-political.

One noteworthy outcome of the elections is that despite their political trappings, the politically linked candidates who have won, are in agreement with President Zia-ul-Haq that the ultimate goal of the nation is an Islamic welfare State, and that its realisation lay in pursuing the President's Islamisation programme which has already made a good start. For this very reason the voters too did not bother very much about political associations of candidates. The voters took only one thing under consideration--candidates, pure merit to serve the cause of Islam with a nationalistic approach.

CSO: 4600/321

PAKISTAN

ELECTIONS: NO NATIONAL ISSUES SAID DISCUSSED

Karachi DAWN in English 28 Feb 85 p 5

[Article by Ghazi Salahuddin]

[Text]

YOU may remember that quotation, urging people to look at the brighter side of things. "Two men look out through the same bars:/One sees the mud, and one the stars". But let us not have any blind spots. Let us look at the mud — and the stars. The point is that there are stars to look at. And they foretell changes.

I should have begun with the last sentence of my last week's column. "Even the elections that are held without loud-speakers, without rallies, without parties and without direct involvement of people cannot be without consequences". And so we move on to a new phase. Please mind your step.

This week's elections, the second round of which is taking place today, came more than 90 months, not days, after the imposition of Martial Law in 1977 and they have not been of the kind we were waiting for. In nearly forty years, we have had only three general elections. Hence the experience is rare. We have been witness to history.

I do not have the space here to analyse all the prominent features of the non-party polls, which have struck different notes at different places. We should also need some time to put them in perspective. What is crucial, for the moment, is that elections have been held. People have voted against their chosen candidates. People have

also voted for the candidates they liked — for ethnic, sectarian, 'biradari' and personal reasons.

The political response has been translated into the negative vote. In many places, the defeated ones are responsible for the decent turnout. The constituency in which the Federal Defence Minister Mir Ali Ahmad Talpur was routed so decisively could provide an ideal window on the political landscape. Mir Sahib had said that the entire world was watching his contest. I wonder what kind of conclusions the world will draw from this result.

Another window on the current political scene is provided by the contest in which the President's 'opening batsman,' Raja Zafarul Haq, was bowled all ends up. The defeat of other Federal Ministers and former ministers is also instructive.

While the national turnout is calculated to be about 53 per cent, in Karachi it was around 35 per cent. This was possible because in Lyari and in the adjoining old town localities, the contest was hot. It is significant that elections were held almost on a party basis — with the involvement of Jamaat-e-Islami, only technically defunct, and other religious groups of a political nature. In a truly non-party contest, the turnout would have been substantially less.

What stands out in Karachi is the setback to Jamaat, obviously because of its identification with the present regime. Out of ten candidates, only two won. Since larger political parties were not in the

contest, this is pathetic. But for those who have been watching the scene, this was wholly predictable. If the two Jamaat candidates who won had been taken more seriously, they too might have lost.

At least in Karachi, the dominance of religious groups betrays the sectarian nature of politics that has been patronised by some elements in recent years. But once there is more freedom, such aberrations can be erased. Here is evidence that religious slogans are essentially divisive.

The turnout is seen as the success of the exercise and the defeat of so many favourites of the establishment lends credibility. Still, the signals are ambivalent. The opposition parties might feel a bit embarrassed, though they realise that the negative vote was cast by their supporters who now desire participation. This is a good sign.

Things have changed after the referendum and the long period of apathy is apparently coming to an end. One sign of it is the cultural awareness I was recently writing about. The possibility that the Martial Law could now be lifted is really exciting.

But elections have not really resolved the national crisis and that is the most important thing. Fundamental national issues were not discussed during the campaign. If

people are really in a mood to express their views, the political parties can begin from here and can invest this urge for liberation into their strategy — just as they had put the inaction of the people to creative use at the time of the referendum. So, cheer up.

In many ways, we are back to where we were and the crucial battles still lie ahead. We know that people cannot be depoliticised for ever. Some campaigns in the interior of Sind have shown that people do not forget. History always settles its accounts. While the reassertion of the feudals in the rural areas might indicate that its march can be reversed, there is so much else to show that qualitative changes in the direction towards social renewal have also taken place.

As a newsman, I am very eager to know if we will now have more freedom. Unlike during previous elections, the circulation of newspapers did not register a dramatic rise in recent weeks. This confirms the limits of our freedom as well as the lack of popular interest in issues that were raised on the surface.

We now have to go forward, from negative vote to positive action. This week's elections have only been a straw in the wind. Yes, the people who have lived under bondage for so long still remember that they ought to be free.

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PAKISTAN

ELECTION 'SURPRISES, SHOCKS, SETBACKS' VIEWED

Karachi DAWN in English 28 Feb 85 p 8

[Article by Nisar Osmani]

[Text]

LAHORE, Feb 27: Although by and large the voters verdict in the recent National Assembly election followed the expected pattern, it has sprung quite a few surprises, shocks and setbacks.

The list of losers is formidable, indeed. It includes sitting Federal and provincial ministers who had come to be associated with the character of the regime. The heavyweight champions who were supposed to be invincible and the stalwarts of the Jamaat-i-Islami suffering a defeat for a sitting minister or a party stalwart is nothing uncommon.

But this time it was a different story. Most of the losers were pitted not against those whose names appeared on the ballot papers, they were facing forces that chose to remain in the background and were fighting against them by proxy.

To name a few, the Federal Information Minister Raja Zafarul Haq; Labour Minister Ghulam Dastgir; Defence Minister Ali Ahmed Talpur; Punjab Minister Mian Salahuddin; Naib Amir Jamaat-i-Islami Chaudhari Rahmat Elahi; Jamaat leader like Asaad Gilani, Mian Fateh Mohammad, Jan Mohammad Abbasi, Mr Mahmud Azam Farooqui and Mr Munawwar Hasan — all were grappling with their rivals who had the backing of the "negative vote," by a large number of MRD workers and supporters.

That in the ultimate analysis, it

improved the voting percentage and thus came to the help of the regime, was altogether a different story.

The Feb. 25 election presented a phenomenon of its own. The 1962 polls were also held on non-party basis and under a martial law administration. But then they were conducted under a restricted and

It was for the first time that the contest took place among those who could be described as the loyalists of the regime. The opposition was conspicuous by its absence and that gave a new dimension to the political scenario.

Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, who had already been assured of a five-year term through the December 19 Referendum, was enjoying a position which was both enviable and unenviable. He was conscious of the fact that barring a few non-conformists here and there everyone who was elect, belonged to his 'party' and he could not take sides between his supporters and loyalists, as they would have meant creating an opposition of his own. That explains why, despite his good wishes for the contesting ministers, he chose to remain uninvolved in the battle of the ballot.

But this was also created problems for him. The defeat of the Ministers, some of who had come to be closely associated with his policies, is being interpreted as a mandate against his government. And the fact that two reigning ministers from the Punjab, Mian

Salahuddin who lost from Lahore constituency, and Mr Zakir Qureshi whose son was defeated from Sargodha have chosen to withdraw from the provincial Assembly contest out of despair, speaks for itself.

Another shock was in store for the MRD. If anyone believed that the voting percentage in the assembly elections, where on an average six contestants were in the field, would range between 10 to 15 per cent, he was suffering from an error of judgement. To persuade a sympathiser or supporter to exercise his vote against or for a candidate is something usual and expected, but to make his resist the temptation of casting his vote is entirely different.

In a situation when their entire leadership was under detention and a host of their activists had also been rounded up, when they lacked the required opportunity and resources to organise public opinion in their favour, they had opted for an impossible target and were crying for the moon.

By failing to enforce the boycott of elections, the opposition has lost a round, but the Government has not won either. Any Government which does not have the blessings of political parties and forces and depends upon fresh recruits to the game of politics, will continue to face problems once political activity is allowed.

PAKISTAN

CANDIDATES REQUIRED TO PROVIDE ACCOUNT OF EXPENSES

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 2 Mar 85 p 12

[Text] Karachi, March 1: A detailed account of expenses incurred in the recent National and Provincial Assembly election campaigns will have to be submitted by all the contestants to the Returning Officers of their respective constituencies within 45 days of the official Gazette notification of the winning candidates' name.

The Provincial Election Commissioner, Mr. M. H. Zaidi told APP that these statements of campaign expenditures will be scrutinised by the Returning Officers to ensure that no contraventions of existing electoral laws occurred.

He recalled that under Section 49 of the Representation of the People's Act, 1976, the election expenses of the Muslim National and Provincial Assembly candidates are limited to Rs. 50,000 and Rs. 25,000, respectively, or a total sum calculated at the rate of 50 paisa for each electoral entry in their constituency, whichever amount being greater.

The Election expenses statement will have to be submitted on a prescribed form containing different headings for all payments made by the candidate concerned (together with bills and receipts) and disputed and unpaid claims.

All contributions--whether in cash or the equivalent thereof--received from any person by the candidate for election expenses will have to be shown on the statement of account, including the name of the contributor.

The account of election expenses will have to be accompanied by an affidavit in the prescribed form in which the candidate will take oath of the veracity of the statement.

The Returning Officer will keep the electoral expense account statement, along with attached documents, available for public inspection (on payment of a prescribed fee) during a period of one year. (Copies of the expense account statements can be obtained from the Returning Officer on payment of a set fee.)

The Provincial Election Commissioner said the Returning Officers will scrutinise the electoral expense account statements, and in case of any irregularities will inform the Election Commission, which would then determine what action--if any--should be taken.

PAKISTAN

SIND LEADER VOWS TO DEFEND RIGHTS OF SMALL PROVINCES

Karachi DAWN in English 1 Mar 85 p 2

[Text] Larkana, Feb 28: "The 1983 Constitution should be fully restored but with certain essential amendments regarding provincial autonomy with focus on the rights of smaller provinces," Mr Shah Mohammad Pasha Khuhro, who won NA-164 seat by defeating Mr Abdul Ghafoor Bhurgari, Sind Revenue and Culture Minister, and Mr Jan Mohammad Abbasi, Amir, JI, Sind, with a margin of 4,210 votes.

Addressing a Press conference at the Press Club here alongwith Dr Hameeda Khuhro, his sister, he said, he would concentrate his efforts on getting the just right of 20 per cent share in all Federal departments for Sind.

Lashing out at the quota system, he termed it as "total fraud," and added that he had made up his mind to exert his energies for achieving the genuine rights of Sind, particularly, Larkana.

"I hope to be the member of a fully sovereign parliament in which we can secure the due rights of the people and work with likeminded representatives to make the National Assembly strong and capable of delivering the goods in the interest of the nation," he added.

Bhurgri's Reaction

Meanwhile, the defeated candidate, Mr Abdul Ghafoor Bhurgri, said during a Press conference after the announcement of NA results: "I don't care for the false and manipulated result. The people have, in fact, elected me and reposed their trust in me."

He further said the overwhelming majority of feudal class, tyrants, waderas, entire criminal elements, purchasable Pirs and dubiously corrupt bureaucracy, hand in glove with one another, have worked against him.

He said, inspite of my "success", the result has been falsely manipulated and tampered with to declare my opponent Mr Pasha Khuhro as successful in order to safeguard the vested interest and prolong the sufferings of the people.

The bureaucracy, he said, have tried to bring back the discarded elements responsible for betraying Sind and putting in jeopardy the solidarity of Pakistan.

Pasha Khuhro, he further said, has started "revengeful" activities by harassing and threatening my supporters and workers who are being humiliated and intimidated. Tons of money were spent to purchase votes and "goondas", criminals and swindlers were let lose to harass my workers and voters at large, he added.

He also told in Press conference that the false and manipulated result against him in the election has strengthened my determination to serve the labourers, peasants, workers, students and the common man.

CSO: 4600/320

PAKISTAN

EMERGENCE OF 'HEALTHY POLITICAL CONVENTIONS' LAUDED

Karachi DAWN in English 1 Mar 85 p 17

[Editorial: "In Deference to Popular Will"]

[Text] The dissolution of the Federal Cabinet within hours of the completion of the National Assembly polls has come as a welcome sign of change in the way things are run in the country. Only those Ministers and Advisers who did not participate in the polls are now members of the caretaker government. Even though a belated move, this should help create a healthy precedent. There was a general demand that the Ministers contesting elections should be relieved of their official positions. The suggestion was justified. The Government functionaries facing the rough and trouble of the hustings should have laid down their offices in order to remove any suspicion that they sought an advantage over their rivals. These persons did not owe their position to any electoral mandate but were appointed to what are meant to be representative offices.

It does not seem very proper--at least politically and morally--that a candidate who has lost in this week's elections should continue to hold a public office in his representative capacity in relation to that office has been eroded. In this context, a good example has been set by the Punjab Minister of Auqaf and Social Welfare, Mian Zakir Qureshi. His son lost in the NA polls. Since the father had actively canvassed for his son and publicly identified himself with the losing candidate, the Minister interpreted the defeat as reflecting want of public confidence in himself. It certainly needed considerable moral courage to admit as much. Another case is that of Mr Abdul Ghafoor Bhurgari, Sind Revenue Minister, who, having lost the contest for a National Assembly seat, has resigned his membership of the Provincial Cabinet as well as the Majlis-i-Shoora. Both these bodies will shortly cease to exist, but Mr Bhurgari's gesture is something to be thankful for. Those are not the only examples of this kind. In 1983, a Federal Minister, Syed Fakhar Imam, had voluntarily resigned after losing the election for the chairmanship of a Zila Council. This gesture was unprecedented at the time and was widely appreciated. His self-effacement might have been one of the factors that won him a National Assembly seat this time.

Such examples need to be emulated on a wider scale in the interest of building up the right kind of conventions, which we lack so much. Democratic institutions have yet to take root in the country. A crucial part is played in the



democratic process by the unwritten conventions of the Constitution and healthy usages which spring from the subtler demands of honesty and propriety in public life and from a deep sense of political and moral responsibility. In Pakistan's brief history of public life there have been innumerable instances of chicanery, double-dealing and opportunism, leaving aside graft and influence-peddling. Sometimes Ministers have combined their ministerial posts with offices which they could not hold without securing undue benefits. Such conduct has undermined the moral foundations of public life and political government, thus providing ammunition to the traducers of democracy and popular sovereignty. If Pakistanis aspire to take their destiny into their own hands and secure to themselves the benefits of democratic self-government, they will have to show that they care a great deal for healthy political conventions and that they will never let violators of these conventions go unexposed, unchallenged and unpunished.

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BRIEFS

**VOTER TURNOUT IN PROVINCES--**Islamabad, March 1: The turnout of voters in the Provincial Assemblies elections shows a higher percentage than the National Assembly elections. The turnout of voters in the Provincial Assemblies comes to 56.91 while it was 52.93 in the National Assembly elections. The province-wise detail of the percentage of the National and Provincial Assemblies is as under: Punjab: Provincial Assembly 61.80, National Assembly 59.59. Sind: Provincial Assembly 49.82, National Assembly 44.06. NWFP: Provincial Assembly 47.61, National Assembly 38.81. Baluchistan: Provincial Assembly 46.62, National Assembly 35.13. [Text] [Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 2 Mar 85 p 1]

**JI DENIAL ON MIAN TUFAIL--**A spokesman of the defunct Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan on Thursday contradicted reports that members of the Jamaat were pressurising the Amir. Mian Tufail Mohammad, to resign as he had failed miserably as a party leader. He said that Jamaat workers had started no 'letter campaign' against Mian Sahib. The spokesman charged that such reports were being manufactured in a certain 'office' and spread all over. [Text] [Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 2 Mar 85 p 3]

**NEW FACES IN BALUCHISTAN--**Khuzdar, Feb. 28: Entirely new faces are likely to dominate the political scene of Baluchistan after unofficial results of the provincial assembly poll were announced by the Election Commission on Thursday. Barring the Jam of Lasbela, Jam Mir Ghulam Qadir Khan, the former Chief Minister of Baluchistan, no seasoned political contested the Provincial Assembly elections. The ex-ruler of the defunct princely state of Lasbela was elected unopposed from the Bela constituency. He was among five candidates elected uncontested. Most of the elected members of the Baluchistan Assembly are in their twenties or early thirties. They were elected for the first time with no past experience as member of the provincial legislature. Jam Sahib's son was elected member of the National Assembly from the Baluchistan Coastal constituency. For the first time in the history of Baluchistan the defunct Jamaat-i-Islami got representation in the provincial and National Assembly. Moulvi Abdul Haq was elected for the National and provincial assemblies from Turbat constituency. [Excerpt] [Karachi DAWN in English 1 Mar 85 p 1]

**SAFDAR ON AMENDING CONSTITUTION--**Sialkot, Feb 28: Khawaja Mohammad Safdar, Chairman, Majlis-i-Shoora and newly-elected MNA, said here on Thursday that he was in favour of complete restoration of 1973 Constitution. Talking to

newsmen, he said that there was no harm in amendments in order to strike a balance between the powers of the president and the prime minister but it would be much better than this was left to the newly-elected National Assembly. He said that he was sure that new groups would be formed before the NA session and a clear opposition would emerge in the National Assembly. To a question, he said that it was premature to say anything about his selection as the speaker of the National Assembly. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 1 Mar 85 p 22]

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY COMMISSION TO MEET--Karachi, Feb 27: The National Commission for Science and Technology, headed by President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, will hold its meeting in the second quarter of the calendar year, it was learnt from official sources. The Ministry of Science and Technology has invited proposals for consideration and discussion in the meeting. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 28 Feb 85 p 6]

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